Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Castro Addresses Lawyers Conference

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[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the closing session of the Eighth Conference of the American Association of Lawyers in Havana's Palace of Conventions on 17 September—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, comrades of the presidency, distinguished guests, distinguished delegates: I am not impatient to come to this podium but I knew that I could not avoid it. [laughter] During recess I noticed people started to protest, saying that I had called for a few minutes of rest in order to be able to escape and I knew you would insist that I say a few words. In other circumstances Comrade Escalona's magnificent speech would have been enough to end any conference, but because of me—and I blame only myself—you will have to extend your stay in this room to hear some words that I will try to make short [crowd shouts:"no"] denying my reputation [applause] as a man [applause] who gives long speeches.

Some comrades have insisted that I should give a speech, but I am not an advocate of speeches, any type of speeches, and much less at conferences. [applause] What do I usually do? Participate in events, all the time, and not get a moment's respite. Discuss, analyze, take note of situations, concerns, subjects to be covered, important points, and it is, understandably, only then that I agree to say a few words. I was telling the comrades: Look, if you make a mistake, it may be bad but you will be forgiven. If in any of these improvised speeches I make a mistake, it is a disaster; not for the world or Cuba but [words indistinct]. Anyway, this is a meeting of people who are very knowledgable on these subjects, such as Comrade Escalona, deputies, magistrates, district attorneys, lawyers; and these are not topics on which one should improvise. Even on the matter of appearing at this rostrum I considered who would know what the subjects were that would most interest you. Some comrades told me, well, why don't you question the group, or exchange impressions, or have a dialogue with questions and answers as we did when we discussed foreign debt? I said that would take 5 to 6 hours, and I think that nobody can stand 5 or 6 hours of dialogue at the end of a congress.

When I heard the agreements or resolutions by the different commissions I thought these could be matters of more interest [words indistinct] in which Cuba is involved. I followed the commissions' order. I believe you started with commission number five on the subject of labor law. The report referred to exceptions to labor law found in Nicaragua and Cuba. I asked myself: Why are we the exception? How do the delegates, lawyers who are present, interpret exceptions? In reality there are not many exceptions. The fundamental exception relates to the right to strike. The Argentine comrade, who read the report, stated that Cuban law neither prohibits them nor includes them; strikes are not mentioned. Escalona stated that in our system—where property belongs to the people, to all workers—strikes are senseless. I believe this should be analyzed in depth. What occurs in our country with this phenomenon of strikes? Not what occurs with the rest of our labor law, which is very ample, sometimes too ample. The labor law grants many privileges, and sometimes I believe that there are too many privileges. Granting of these privileges was backed by the noble intentions of revolutionaries, and they have not always been realistic.

Sometimes I have thought that, for example, the industrialized countries not only have left us a terrible heritage in every sense and that the consumer societies not only have left us the habit and eagerness to consume. These societies are guided by the drive to make profits, by the mercantile spirit, not by the desire to resolve man's problems, not by the desire to meet man's real spiritual and material needs. Instead, they are guided by other laws, by other selfish objectives that have something to do with man, resorting to the philosophy that these interests coincide with society's interests. This has been the case ever since Adam Smith proclaimed in the face of feudalism the principle that the interests of individuals were the interests of nations, that individuals had to be allowed to do all they wanted, and that their interests would always coincide with those of nations. I ask myself to what extent do the interests of the big transnationals coincide with the interests of individuals, peoples, and nations nowadays? [applause]

All of them govern themselves with different laws that are in constant conflict with the interests of society and today's world. This liberalism had its raison d'etre in the past and was even revolutionary at some point in the face of feudalism. So those developed societies have reached a high level of technological development. Great impetus was given to the productive forces. They know how to exploit labor. The know how to exploit it well. They impose discipline on the basis of objective conditions that are very harsh on individuals. This is not a conscientious discipline like the one socialism must create because it cannot renew or recreate the conditions under which labor works in capitalism, which already has many automated industries, robots, etc. The only thing is that in this case the robot replaces man. They use a machine to produce, and at the same time they have millions of unemployed people, like in the United States and Europe. They will fare even worse with the famous industrial reconversion programs. As always, always happens in capitalism, these programs are implemented at the expense of human beings, at the expense of man. I do not know how they will finally resolve this contradiction between the robots, the automated machines, and man.

Well, they have a higher productivity than a Third World country because the Third World has to develop its productive forces, its economy.

In our case, we have the noble aspiration of distributing everything that can be created in a fair way. But it is as fair as distribution can be in a socialist society, which, as

Marx said in his Gotha Programme, is a distribution that does not go beyond the narrow confines of the bourgeois laws, which give to each according to his capacity and work and start from the premise that there are differences: Not everybody has the same capacity, not everybody has the same strength or the same mental or physical energy; yet all have different needs.

In our case, I say, we are struggling to develop our economy to effect this distribution. However, the development of an objective law [words indistinct] nobody can escape the need for development. A philosophy of distribution is a different thing. If we develop our productive forces and our economy and then put in the heads of individuals the idea that each one of them must have 50 square meters of cloth when perhaps 20, 17, or 25 would suffice; and when he already has 50 meters we want him to have 65; and that when he has enough to dress properly we want him to change clothes every day; and when he can change clothes every day we want him to change clothes in the morning, noon, and evening, and before going to bed too—that would be the system guiding a capitalist society, [applause] the distribution criterion according to which each individual must have an automobile.

I ask myself, and have said so many times: Can India, whose population grows at the rate of 10 million inhabitants a year and totals 750 million, or can Bangladesh, with over 100 million inhabitants in a few square kilometers, set for themselves the development goal that each individual, that each family have one, two, or three automobiles? Why does one have to copy this philosophy and this concept of man's development and needs from the United States, France, Britain, the FRG, etc.? How long would all oil existing in the world last? It is running out.

Everyone knows almost the exact date on which the oil will be depleted. Even if a lot is saved, how long would it last if each Chinese had an automobile? [laughter, applause] How long would it last? How long would it last if each Indian, each inhabitant of Africa, each of the 6 billion inhabitants [had an automobile]? The Chinese are practically prohibiting children because there are too many of them and they establish quite strict policies so that couples will not have more than one child and in all cases never more than two. They also try to have people get married at an older age. They obviously try to control the population growth, but despite all the efforts they number more than 1 billion.

Therefore, it is clear that the world cannot adopt those patterns of the developed capitalist societies which, as Marx said, grew, dripping blood from every pore, plundering the world for centuries. They continue to plunder the world through various means. Theirs is an even more efficient plunder than that of colonialism. After they left the colonies they invented other forms of more efficient and merciless economic control and exploitation. There are countries which they left impoverished and underdeveloped. They exploited not only their resources but also their men for centuries. They exploited them as slaves or as workers who were paid miserable wages.

Therefore, those societies which enjoy this wealth at the cost of that plunder can have such crazy luxuries. They have deformed man. They have deformed society and they continue to deform it. Our views are eloquent on development, on human needs, and other values that we must appreciate much more than each family owning a car. We do not know when such a thing will be possible and whether it will be advisable and healthy one day, maybe when water and hydrogen become fuel, if there are enough materials or if science and technology permit this miracle. Then we would not know how many deaths would result from accidents. It is already known that in a developed society they are the leading cause of deaths. They are among the leading causes of deaths in the developed societies.

It is clear that the 2 billion...[corrects himself] the more than 4 billion people who live in the Third World must seek another objective, another concept, another viewpoint on development and the distribution of wealth, I repeat, based on other values. Free time is a great value. Serenity, tranquillity, and the culture of man are of enormous value, which is not appreciated—the spiritual tranquillity of man. Look at the heart disease and heart attack rates. They do not know what to do with all those vices, all those things. They are fighting cigarette smoking. That is very good, but they cannot even fight drug consumption. They are increasingly becoming victims of their own system, their own philosophy, their own individualism, and their own lack of culture and education.

This is known because there have been polls in the United States. I recently read one—every day one is published—which stated that if someone in the United States is asked where New York is there is a quite high percentage who do not know where New York is located. They confuse the geographic location of Mexico with Brazil. This is not strange because Mr Reagan once arrived in Brazil and in a luncheon he started to speak about Bolivia. He truly believed he was in Bolivia. [applause] If the President did not know where Brazil is located and if he did not remember at which airport he had landed, then how can one expect many in the United States—unfortunately students—to know? Their ignorance about the world is terrible. In short, this is offensive because we have no other choice but to know where the United States is located, [laughter] know who the Republican candidate and the Democratic candidate is, who this and that senator is, and follow what happens in that country because what happens in that country affects all of us. Nevertheless, they give themselves the luxury of ignoring not only the location but practically the existence of the Third World. You see this at all the international conferences, in the United Nations, everywhere.

It is also a society which has much higher productivity and yet has terrible unemployment problems. They have been forced to reduce the work day. In the times of Marx,

even children worked up to 14 hours. [They reduced it to] 12, 10, 8, 7 hours, 5 days a week, to a 5 and 1/2 day week. We would all like that a lot. However, one must ask oneself if, with all the things that we must do and the development efforts, we, the current generation who must undertake this historic task have before us, can we afford this luxury? Sometimes, forgetting our concept of productivity, work, and development needs, we tend to transfer to our countries the work schedules, the work systems, the work week, etc. For example, under our laws we have 1 month of vacation. This does not mean we are going to take it away; I am just giving this as an example. There are developed countries which do not have 1 month of vacation. You see this frequently. Well, factories must be maintained, vacations must be given and must be used to perform maintenance. However, the days off are not included in that month. There are two Saturdays and four Sundays, 36 days of vacations. Anyone would think that the country is already full of robots and programmed lathes really doing the production.

I want to tell you, there are some things of which we must be aware. At least we do not have the problem facing some countries without a socialist regime in which all activities seek the country's development. In those countries most firms are U.S. enterprises, as was the case in Cuba. Who would want to work an extra hour—who would want to work on a vacation day? Well, vacations were established by the revolution. However, I want to tell you that there is a total contradiction between the interests of the economy, of the production system, and those of the workers. Who would ask workers in a capitalist system to understand and work for development, in a system where the greater their effort the wealthier the owner becomes and the more powerful the transnationals exploiting them become?

If you look around you will see how they go and invest where manpower is cheap, where they can make dirty deals. They go to Puerto Rico, yes; they install industries that will pollute the environment in Puerto Rico, not in the United States. Transnational companies go to Taiwan, to South Korea, to Hong Kong, Malasya, or to Latin America to establish industries requiring a lot of manpower, cheap manpower. However, they are now facing such problems in Latin American countries, and they have such fears, that they prefer to go to countries with more peaceful conditions. You see how those countries develop based on very strong, repressive governments. They are held up as paradises for transnational companies, but those countries have regimes based on fierce repression to maintain the necessary discipline required by a policy of hunger, low salaries, and exploitation. They go to Third World countries to establish companies that pollute and that require cheap labor. They keep the high-technology, high-productivity industries that require large capital investments but a small labor force in their own countries. However, sometimes this causes contradictions among the workers in industrialized countries. I do not know how they will resolve the contradiction between productivity and employment. We know how to resolve those problems perfectly well because we have our own ideas on that subject and we know there will never be a contradiction in that matter.

Well, what are we doing in this regard? For example, in the education sector we already have 17,000 professors and teachers in reserve. We have a total of some 265,000 professors and teachers, and some 17,000 in reserve. What are they good for? To have 17,000 professors and teachers studying, earning their salaries, and at the same time increasing their knowledge, improving their educational level, and their field of specialization by attending the universities—we believe that as long as those 17,000 exist we have no need to close our teachers' schools even though there is a surplus of teachers. We believe that we have a concept of a just distribution. We believe that an idle man still costs society something. One way or another he has to get clothing, food, housing—be it at an aunt's or a brother's home—he receives medical attention, education, social security. In sum, has everything. An idle man truly becomes a burden on society. A rational society must find the way to utilize such human resources in a manner useful to society. Can we do something better with those 17,000 teachers, or those youths we have trained as teachers? We will have 40,000. Instead of having them unemployed, or as part of the bureaucracy, or in meaningless activities, we turned those 40,000 people into an extraordinary resource for the advancement of our teachers. The majority of our elementary school teachers are studying for a bachelor's degree in elementary education, for a university degree, after 6 years of study and after being teachers, after working as teachers, for the past 2 years, and during their spare time. This is possible thanks to the reserve of teachers, who would otherwise be unemployed. I wonder if the capitalist system can do this?

We plan to do the same with the doctors. We already have 28,000 doctors. In 10 or 12 years we will have 65,000, and we already know what we will we do with each one of them. We will have the best number of doctors per capita in the world. In a capitalist system they would not be able to study, or, as it occurs in some countries, like in Spain, they have 20,000 unemployed doctors. Therefore, they have to start reducing the admissions to the university and to adopt that kind of measure. When we have 65,000 doctors, and we already know where all of them are, including 10,000 abroad—today we have approximately 1,500 as part of the Cuban cooperation with the Third World countries—we will also have a reserve of 10,000 doctors. We plan to do the same with the engineers, architects, and with almost all the technicians. What a tremendous labor force! What are they good for? For their own benefit, and in the future we will give each teacher and professor a sabbatical year when they have obtained their university degrees, with the help of the 40,000 teachers and professors in reserve. Thus, they can inmprove their education and study for a whole year while others work, which is a rational way to distribute human resources. We will

implement this plan in the health sector, with the doctors, and in all other sectors to make those human resources part of a continuous system for self-improvement.

Furthermore, they will have more study time. Will it not be wonderful for a studious teacher to get 9 years of primary and secondary schooling, and after that 4 more years? One of the things we have been considering is adding another year to give the teacher better preparation. Instead of 13 years of studies he will receive 14 years, and he will then attend university to get his degree. In the near future our professors, our elementary school teachers, our first-grade teachers will have a university degree. Is this or is this not wonderful? Is this opportunity not valuable? [applause] Or, I ask, is it more useful to be able to buy 65 nightgowns each year? These are desires that are impossible. The day we can do all this; the day we are willing to develop our material and human resources in a rational manner to further human progress and the welfare of man; the day that we, too, have robots—and we are starting to get them—the day we have many programmed lathes—and we are starting to get them—the day we have many computerized production programs—and we are starting to get them—because we are developing these activities and not simply sewing and making clothing—we are increasing our scientific investigations in many fields; well, if after all this we have more people than are needed, then that day we will reduce the work shifts from 8 to 7, from 7 to 6, from 7 to 5. Nobody goes bankrupt, nobody loses anything, and everybody wins. This means that we do not export to attain our society's development goals because the imbalance between the production system and the people, the workers, has disappeared. What worries our agricultural workers? [passage indistinct] What do our unions worry about, our unions that are careful that no legal violations are made, that are careful that no injustices are done? What do our unions talk about, all day long, in the morning, in the afternoon, at night? What do they talk about when they are at the party, when they are with youth groups, when they are with the women's federations? They talk about how they can produce more firewood and more meat and more food. In factories they talk about how to increase production, productivity, and about how to reduce costs. They know nothing about the phenomenon of overproduction, nor of unemployment, because there is overproduction.

In the past a struggle was waged here against machines; the person who wanted to bring in a machine to make cigars found himself in the middle of a social conflict, and big strikes were waged against it. If a person wanted to bring in a machine to cut cane in this country he found himself with an incredible social problem on his hands because this was a country with over a half a million unemployed, and that with a population of only 6 million. Nobody could speak about bringing a machine in—not a road-building machine, nor one to mechanize the ports, nor a machine to store sugar, nor a derrick with a large cargo capacity, nor construction machines, nor rice harvesters, nor one to mechanize the rice crops—because all of that meant displaced men, and led to unemployment, misery, and hunger, to the exclusive benefit of the large landowners and of those who owned all those machines. The people today, however, know how much milk they can consume, and they know that they can only have more milk if more is produced, and more rice by producing more rice, and by making those machines, those combines produce more. What happens today? The workers desire machines. They desire machines because cutting rice for unending hours with a scythe, with your back bent, is not the same as cutting rice with a combine. It is not the same thing to spray pesticides and fertilizers by hand and to spray them by airplane, or to sow from an airplane—this brings fabulous results: an airplane spraying pesticides or fertilizers. The peasants understand the idea of technology and the idea of working large amounts of land; they understand that small farms are unproductive, which is why they join cooperatives or large state enterprises. Man desires machines because machines have liberated the people of this country from the hardest tasks, such as carrying 325-pound bags of sugar every day for many hours, bags that could destroy the spine and destroy a man's health. I myself saw many cases of this at a time when no medical attention was available. Today, no bag weighing 325 pounds is carried by man; the bags are all carried in another way. A great majority of the millions of tons of sugar that we export are transported by machine. Man's physical strength is thus not taxed, and the same applies to other activities, too. How does one explain this? The contradictions in socialist societies have disappeared; the reasons for conflicts, which have their origins in capitalist societies, have disappeared. The only way for a worker to make himself heard is through strikes; strikes are a weapon, one that must be defended because it wields tremendous power. After the workers developed this awareness they did not have to strike here. A worker has never brought up this problem here.

The workers here raise other problems, usually because there is a total concurrence between their interests and those of society. This does not mean that there is no room for error; this does not mean that in a socialist society there are no conflicts. It is a job for men, and it depends upon how men work, how the party works; if men become bureaucratized, if they are self-seekers, if they theorize or become technocrats, then contradictions might arise, even in the midst of socialism. [applause]

It is a new society, a new world in which there is still much experimentation and testing. However, if policy is correct, if a principled policy is followed, if the party leadership does not become alienated from the masses, and if the party is the instrument, one need not fear for the party. The first thing that was done by Jose Marti—the founder of our nation, or let us say the great builder of our independence—was to organize a party that was true to Cuba's tradition, the Cuban Revolutionary Party. He did not organize 15 or 25 parties. He organized one, and this was before Lenin's time. Marti developed the concept of a party that would lead the revolution and unite all sectors of society. [applause]

I say that if the party does not separate itself from the masses and from its principles, and if it does not fall into the hands of technocrats and bureaucrats, then contradictions should never emerge. When there are attentive ears and when the people feel they are an active part of the entire process in every way, then contradictions should not emerge. The party has the primary responsibility to be vigilant. Not only the unions, but each party militant and each militant youth has to keep watch over the workers' interests, man's material needs, the workers' problems, and over what should be done for them. Not only the union, but all sectors, all the mass organizations must struggle with the same concern in mind, and work in the same direction. That is one of our revolution's characteristics. It is 27 years old... [corrects himself] 28 years old; it is going to be 28 years old. We are in'50...[corrects himself] '87. Look, we are going to celebrate our 29th anniversary. Yes, indeed, time has flown; [laughter, applause] 29 years of unyielding firmness in the face of the superpower empire, which is capable of anything: it could crush political processes like cockroaches; it could do what it did in Guatemala in 1954, when 100,000 people died. This is not mentioned by the pharisees and hypocrites, who are always talking about human rights. [applause] They would have liked to do the same thing to us with a little expedition. We already know what happened when they came with their expedition here. They tried to do that to Nicaragua, and they have imposed themselves on that country, which has endured 8 years of heroic struggle.

It has been impossible for them to do this to us because of the resistance of our people against all the military, economic, and political power used against us, and against their virtual monopoly of the mass communications media. You know that most of what is written in all those newspapers available in the hemisphere—in the empire's newspapers—and what is broadcast on radio and television are canned programs; those articles are written in the news agencies owned by the big imperialist and neocolonialist powers. This is what they force us to read everyday. This is not news that comes from everywhere—from Nicaragua, from all the revolutionary countries. All that torrent of mass communications media is turned against the countries that struggle against imperialist and neocolonialist interests. It is worse than AIDS. [laughter] It is worse than any epidemic. [applause] Fortunately, our peoples have been developing antibodies against those epidemics and diseases. That is why a congress, such as this one, can be held here where all your views can be expressed; [applause] a congress such as this one can be held here. Their poisons have become ineffective. If even mosquitos can adapt to malathion and other insecticides, insecticides made from phosphorus compounds, why could we human beings not adapt and become insensitive to those poisons?

This is precisely what is happening. We are witnessing these phenomena. To continue with what I was saying about the strikes, from which I have digressed, I thought it was necessary to first point out that one really lives in two worlds, each with quite different perspectives.

I believe that this was necessary, and, of course, our people understand this. This is what has made possible the unity, strength, and the defense against the empire, because there is consciousness. Whenever you can, whenever you have the time, travel through our streets, the fields, the countryside, speak to the people, and ask them about all these matters. They will explain this matter better than me. These people are no longer illiterates. Thirty percent of our population used to be illiterate, and 80 percent semiliterate. [figures as heard] Not even 20 percent of the people had completed elementary school. Today you can go to any factory and ask any worker about his educational level, and you will see that the minimum level they have completed is basic secondary education. Many of them will tell you they have completed pre-university courses, high school, or technical training. The education level, or general education levels—particularly the levels of instruction, education, and political knowledge our people have attained—allows our workers to understand all this. They could respond to some of your questions. This awareness, this unity, and this consensus, particularly this consensus in our society, explains our ability to face the empire. This is very important. Some people may be wondering how, or what repressive method could be used. What repressive method could make a revolution or any government subsist with the huge power the United States has? Could any regime subsist with police methods, without the people's consensus, without the people's unity? Regimes like those of Pinochet, Stroessner, etc., subsist by acting against the people, by allying themselves with the empire, by using police methods, with the empire's support. [applause] Perhaps I have spoken too much about this subject, but I believe that it was essential to explain why some institutions are necessary in a society where men exploited by men turn out to be something; no one has ever thought, as a rule, no one has ever thought about this in the 28 years of this revolution, or in the thousands of meetings with workers and peasants. This is the supreme test. The defenders of the revolution are the armed workers, students, and peasants.

The organized workers keep their weapons handy in the factories; all the people are organized and armed. Millions of people are organized and armed according to their belief in the participation of all the people in the war to defend the country from an imperialist aggression. The students are armed; the workers are armed; the peasants are armed; the whole nation is armed. Consequently, if anyone doubts this we could tell them: We will demand a right, we will demand a right that Cuba's socialism has given us. It is far superior to the right to participate in a strike. It is the right of the workers, peasants, students, and people in general to arm themselves, to arm themselves [repeats himself]. [applause]

Let us challenge those who doubt, because the strikes in capitalist countries are strikes against the police, Army,

firemen, high-pressure water hoses, ammunition, rubber hoses, armored vehicles, and all kinds...[changes thought] even tanks are mobilized sometimes to crush a strike and to intimidate the people. The people and workers organize strikes against the bourgeois capitalist system; the bourgeois must defend themselves and their system with the bayonets of their armed forces. I believe this is the best and most fitting evidence of how this contradiction between the people and the government, and between the workers and management disappears in a new social system—simply because the new circumstances allow the people to say what Louis XIV reportedly said: I am the state! I am the power! I am the owner! [applause]

Even though many of the topics discussed by the commissions are related to each other, many of these things could explain how the different topics and policies are outlined in our country.

I listened with great interest to all that was said in the reports about Cuba's penitentiary and justice systems. In general, I think I should have said—given the impressions I gathered while listening to all of the reports—that it can be truly said that this body of ideas, resolutions, and reports actually constitutes a whole code of high ethical standards and a great progressive—I should say revolutionary—attitude. I was amazed at each one of the conclusions you reached and by the way you outlined them.

I think this program can be applied throughout the world, but I also think it provides lessons for us to make us more conscious of our shortcomings and limitations. Let not one think that we are here with the idea, with the attitude that people can only learn from us. No. On the contrary, much can still be taught to us. [applause] This congress is proof of it. We have been analyzing certain ideas in our effort and desire to do things better every day and to improve our institutions, because of our eternal noncomformity with what we say and what we do.

In the face of slander from the enemy, we, of course, defend the achievements of the revolution energetically and categorically, but among ourselves and our friends we are ready to acknowledge the errors we may have committed as well as our deficiencies.

I am touching on some of the most important matters you have discussed. One of the most important subjects in the area of justice is the penitentiary system. One of the most important points discussed has been the penal code. On this matter, more than the process of penal adjustments, the commission characterized it as typical, or—what?—as atypical. That is, you worked on the theory of certain crimes, on a substantive matter, as you attorneys say. [laughter] My job has forced me to learn other things in life, [laughter] and I believe I have been falling behind in the field of jurisprudence, but I ask: What is the primary duty of a revolution? To draft laws for the revolutionaries and the people. This is its primary responsibility.

Returning to the subject we are analyzing, we have become aware of your propositions and your analyses, and this has increased our awareness and has allowed us to become more progressive, if you will permit me to use this concept.

We recently had a meeting with the police at the Interior Ministry at which we spoke about the police and analyzed all those matters dealing with crime, punishment, laws, and policies. We analyzed the percentage of cases where penalties were imposed. I said that there are countries that have given up their struggle against crime because they feel impotent. I am talking about serious crimes.

In our country we have not given up fighting crime. Our country cannot renounce the ideal of eliminating crime—but not through repression. There are penal measures that have to be adopted, but we must study the causes of crime.

At a Central Committee meeting to take place in a few days we will discuss this matter. The comrades have been working for many months, almost a year, on what you call atypical tasks.

We have to look into some of these very interesting things. In this sense, we were a bit removed, did not see them so clearly but began to look into them. We were following somewhat old trends, if you like.

There is no penitentiary system more humane than this one. I believe it would be difficult to find its equal. I am talking about treatment and living conditions. Inmates have been working here for many years. At one point we had many counterrevolutionary prisoners. Nowdays there are fewer, very few. There are also so-called common criminals. Work was established many years ago—not enforced labor, but paid work. I want you to know that there are thousands of inmates who are working, some outside the prisons. There are more than 20,000 inmates working, some outside the prison and some inside, because there are some who are really dangerous to society, who are backsliders, who cannot be corrected. Unfortunately, we still have that kind of inmate.

We hope that in the future we will have fewer of that kind of inmate and that some day that category of prison population will disappear. They get paid 100 percent of what they earn, exactly as a regular worker in a factory. They help their families. I remember that initially we would help the prisoners' relatives by giving them pensions. We did this for counterrevolutionaries and common criminals alike.

We are now defending the prisoners' right to work and to earn a living. There was a time here when we had many thousands of counterrevolutionary prisoners, during the days of Giron. The CIA organized approximately 300 counterrevolutionary organizations. Do not be surprised. A dirty war like the one against Nicaragua was tried here. The CIA and imperialist forces tried it with

their money, adding to the confusion of those people who did not want to hear a thing about socialism, because it is something terrible—this is what they had been told all their lives.

Sometimes you would ask people somewhere: Do you agree with the agrarian reform, with large landholdings' becoming cooperatives, with the distribution of land, with freeing peasants from the obligation to pay rent? They said yes. We asked: Do you agree with nationalizing foreign trade, with enterprises that earn millions becoming enterprises of the people, and with dedicating the profit to this and that program? Fine. Do you agree with your savings banks' being managed by the government and working for the country's development instead of being managed by private interests? They agreed. We asked them about the industry sector, and they said the same. They always gave the same answer; this was a socialist program, and they were 100 percent in favor of it. But if you asked them what about socialism, they said: No, no, no. They were not for socialism. This was some sort of conditioned reflex.

This is what imperialism creates with the propaganda I was talking about, the canned propaganda. This is the propaganda that, according to polls, allows in our countries' kids to know who Superman is, but 80 or 90 percent of them do not know Juarez, or Sucre, or Sanmartin, or Bolivar. All of this is part of all this diabolic mechanism of mental conditioning, conditioned reflexes. They treat us like the dogs of the famous scientist Pavlov, the famous Pavlov who studied conditioned reflexes. This is how they treat us. They condition our minds with their propaganda.

We continuously analyze this, and we are getting close to adopting decisions on typifying crimes in a different manner and adopting another policy. We are going to adopt another policy, and we hope to advance as much as possible.

At the meeting we analyzed some issues that are important, very important: What are the causes of crime? We still have crime. We have decided to seriously research the background of young people and the factors that influence them. We have some evidence about the influence that the home has, the family, traditions, divided homes where parents do not assume their responsibilities, and the problems that arise when young people drop out of school.

We have evidence about the the factors that lead to crime. They are almost mathematical. We believe and I am sure that education, the schools, the educational system, is the main weapon against crime. [applause]

Our society has advanced very much. There is no comparison between violent crimes in Cuba and violent crimes in the United States or in any other Latin American country. There is no comparison, because here there is no apology for crime. We do not give sensationalist coverage here to a case such as that of a person cut in pieces, as was the case of the sensationalist reports that appeared in the newspaper *El Descuartizador* [*The Ripper*], which went as far as describing with precision the strict technique for ripping. People having inclinations toward that kind of insanity had but to read three or four newspapers to be encouraged to carry out such a deed because that sensationalist media glorified them.

We do not have sensationalist media here. Our crimes—and there is still a high crime rate—involve unimportant things. Our crime rate is much lower than in the United States or in any other country. In many countries crime is the rule, unfortunately, because social conditions push people to that activity. Man developes instincts and tries to protect himself in many different ways.

The analyses we have done of serious crimes, crimes of violence, show that these are minimal. Minimal. There are crimes against property that have far-reaching effects and justify an adequate response. We have already begun a policy of differentiation. The treatment given to an individual who is a first-time offender, or second, or third, is different than the treatment given to the recurrent and recalcitrant or incorrigible individual, because our society, unfortunately, still produces those types. That is a sorry heritage, a heritage of the past that is not easy to erradicate.

We had the illusion—we have not lost it, but we had certain illusions in the intial years of the revolution. At first, no attention was paid to common crimes. But I will tell you something else: In those first days of the revolution's triumph there was much repudiation of war criminals, the counterrevolutionaries, in that harsh struggle that we fought where there were, as I said, thousands of counterrevolutionaries in jail, from hundreds of organizations created by the CIA. In those times common criminals were almost proud to be able to say: No, I am not a counterrevolutionary prisoner; I am a common prisoner. They almost said with pride that they were common prisoners. The attention of the revolution was almost totally centered on the counterrevolutionary prisoner. Those were the ones who irritated the people the most, the CIA agents. I was saying there were many of them. Imagine, once in Giron 1,200 of them were arrested at one time. These were mercenaries who had invaded the country.

Attention was concentrated on the counterrevolutionaries, not on the problems of common criminals. Afterwards it was noticed that common crimes irritate the population; the worker feels uneasy when he feels that his house can be broken into, that his things may be robbed, that a thief may break and enter, even when the family is at home. All this brings insecurity, and in this regard it can be said that the masses have a more demanding, a more extremist attitude, we might say. Generally they want the crimes to be punished more harshly. In our case it is our duty to guide the people. Anything else would be demagogic, it would be flowing with the current. Concerning this topic we have to consult with the people about all these ideas: what the

crimes are and how we have to fight them. We were saying that precisely the opinions... [changes thought] The repression of crime begins in the educational system. Why do we say the educational system? It is not enough to preach good behavior. The important thing is to educate, and that requires a whole system. Not even good teachers are enough.

What did we find? The realities were what we found, as we studied statistics, even on a worldwide basis. We found realities: the number of children who need special schools.

Children need special schools for various reasons: because they have seeing or hearing problems, to cite the best-known reasons; because they have mental problems; or because social factors cause behavior problems. We have devoted much work to special education, and we have a capacity for 45,000 places in special schools. However, according to international statistics based on population, especially infant population, our country should have about 80,000 places. We are creating in 1 year... [changes thought] in 3 years we are going to create these 35,000 additional places. We are building 10 special schools in Havana this year; we are lacking 24, but we need 90 in the eastern provinces. There is one province where there is not even one: Guantanamo Province. It will include schools for the physically handicapped.

One must build schools. What do we do today with the child who is physically handicapped, with the child who, either because of an accident or by birth lacks one leg and must move around in a wheelchair? We send the teacher home to him. But that child has no social life; he does not go to school; he feels different. We are tackling that problem in the most scientific manner possible. We already are building schools, even for handicapped children. These are special shools, and, of course, they are very expensive. We are carrying out a program.

There also are children who for some reason have problems, congenital problems, because there were difficulties at birth. There is a median curve; some children are below and some are above the median, so they may have problems at school, problems of learning, so if the child goes to a normal school, begins having problems, and begins to reject the school, he may end up by detesting the school.

Special attention has to be given to school dropouts because the teenager who drops out of school is a latent delinquent and becomes a criminal. When the cases are studied—and we are going to study them in depth—one finds that the child dropped out of school at such and such a time, lacked attention from the father or the mother, and had such and such problems. That child needs a special school with teachers that have a certain level of education and are specialists in this field, so the child can have a school where he receives adequate education and adequate treatment, thus preventing these children from being set apart at the other schools and then dropping out. We have to win the battle in the matter of school dropouts. There are cases of youngsters who have committed crimes.

We have some excellent schools that do a very good job of educating. We were recently studying the case of one school... [changes thought] because these are the ones we have to build; these are internal schools, for the cases of behavior problems. There are two types of schools; they cannot all be the same. Some of the children are older. We are already seeing proof of the tremendous importance of education in the prevention of crime, and we know that the children attending these schools are virtually transformed with adequate education. They are taught crafts, taught culture, music, and general instruction. The teachers are specialists. Those schools are expensive. I want you to know that the cost of a special school compared to a normal school is four times as much. That is what it costs to send a pupil to such a school. And we need to have 80,000 places.

In the midst of this effervescence felt in our country, in the midst of the process in which we are involved, of a strong mass movement toward construction, we are implementing this program of social works, not only for infants but also for special schools. We will then see to some of the schools that are already old and we will build additions to them.

We have established the double shift in primary schools almost throughout the country. The double shift is a problem because it leads to those children loafing around in the streets in the morning or in the afternoon while their parents are working, which can turn into a breeding house for antisocial behavior. Until a few years ago we had only one shift because there were so many children that we had neither enough teachers nor enough installations. With what has been built in the last 3 or 4 years we have almost reached 100 percent of schools with double shifts. There are provinces that already have 100 percent double shifts in the primary schools. We are going to implement this in the urban high schools, although many of our students attend high school and university in rural areas. We are giving much attention to this. Aside from the risks he runs, the child that is on the streets alone and uncontrolled is a factor that exerts influence. Winning the battle against all of these factors is really waging a war of prevention against crime.

Rather than to punish we have to prevent the criminal from being created. If society is not perfect enough, then all the policy of justice... [changes thought] what treatment to give him, how to do it, because many penal systems in the world mix all the people there in those dens that prisons can sometimes be, and then jails become, not rehabilitation centers for people, but rather centers where more and worse criminals are created.

I felt it was necessary... [changes thought] I do not know whether anyone in this congress spoke about this policy, this concept we are applying. In the year 1990 we will have all 80,000 places that we need for all types of special

schools. We are following this very closely, and it is an interesting experiment. They must be very dedicated personnel. It has been demonstrated that pedagogy is capable of winning back even those adolescents who have already committed crimes. I feel this must be part of our progressive program. This program is not described only by the concepts discussed here about what the best techniques are, or the reclassification of crimes. We are going to do that, but before... [changes thought] We are already doing that, but concerning reclassification I do not believe it will be too many weeks before we make the necessary amendments in our penal code. We have had to pay for our lack of experience, because we had been using the old code for many years. We made the new one, but many crimes appeared that are not necessarily crimes and that can be resolved in other ways or by means of fines, etc.

We have some instances that the minister was telling me about, such as driving without a license. In an effort to protect the population the laws stipulated that the crime of driving without a license should be harshly punished. That crime originates in a host of causes, and is the type of instance, as are many others, that must be resolved by other means and by other types of measures. We were already reaching that conclusion, but you have helped us reach the absolute conviction that what we are doing in this regard is completely right. We expect that in a future jurist's congress the Cuban delegation may speak about what has been done in this field. [applause]

I do not want to speak too much about the subject of women, because I want to speak about human rights, which is important, [applause] and about self-determination, peace, and a little bit about the debt. What I am trying to say is, I am going to be speaking some minutes more.

I feel Comrade Escalona expressed it concisely; perhaps I should add a few facts. In our country there are municipalities in Havana itself where the female workforce has reached 50 percent of civilian employees. This is understandable, because perhaps the workforce on fishing boats is mostly male.

The work force is almost all male in merchant marine ships. This is also true in military units, although we have military units composed of women. I am talking about military units, not territorial militia troops. I am talking about regular units composed of women. Because of this, there is a majority of women in the workforce in certain municipalities.

This is closely linked to the possibilities available for women to join the workforce. It is not enough to proclaim the women's right to work, for example, or women's equality. The family code was issued here. It has principles that are mostly moral norms; in fact, it is a great sermon to fight the deeply rooted machismo. [applause] This is a deeply rooted machismo that is typical of our society and was inherited from the colonial times, the Spain that was occupied by the Arabs for about 7 centuries. I do not want to criticize the Arabs, and I am very sorry if there are any of you with Arab origins; there probably are some. However, you know the ideas they have. Some of the ideas are part of their religion. Certain views are part of this. We have inherited some of them. We have had to fight very hard against them.

I want you to know that the revolution's hardest battle is the fight for women's equality, because discrimination did not exist [words indistinct] curiously enough, despite all that we have advanced in education and ideology. We see this in the elections for the people's government. I do not know if you are aware how so many state organs are established and how our National Assembly is organized. This all stems from the electoral districts [circunscripciones], 11,000 of them. The electoral district delegates are chosen there. These delegates elect the members to municipal and provincial people's governments, and even the National Assembly. Nomination is absolutely free in these electoral districts. I want you to know that our party does not interfere in any electoral district to propose candidates.

A system was established from the beginning. According to this system the people meet in a public assembly, as if they were in Athens. All the neighbors of the electoral district who have the right to vote meet in various assemblies. They meet in various areas of the electoral district. Some times all of them nominate one person, and some times they have to nominate two because the law says so. Some times they nominate eight. A maximum limit of eight candidates per electoral district is established. There is a minimum limit: two. The winner has to receive 50 percent. If among three candidates no one gets 50 percent of the votes, then the election has to be repeated. Ever since this system was established in the Constitution there has never been a single election in my electoral district that has not taken two Sundays. No one has ever won more than 50 percent of the votes there.

Nomination is free, and we promote the idea of nominating women for unions, the Union of Young Communists, the party, the administration, and the people's government posts. However, they must be nominated first. We looked into how many women have been nominated. Despite the struggle we still see the attitude. Approximately 20 or 21 percent have been nominated. This figure would be 40, 50, or perhaps 60 percent if people truly realize that women are better administrators than men. [applause]

How many are elected from those nominated? It is women who are to be blamed for this, not prejudice. They feel that women without children will be in a better position to do their job. This is a task that takes extra hours after one is done with the work of the day. The delegate of the electoral district then has to do the job. Many think about and even pity the mothers, etc., who have to do all that work.

There has been a struggle to establish the equality of women. We have made great progress. We organized

women from the beginning. We did not create a Cuban men's federation, because they did not need it. They had enough with their age-old hegemonism.

We created the Federation of Cuban Women [FMC], and all women in our country who are more than 15 years old belong to it. At what age do they become members? Is it 15 or 14? Fourteen.

They became organized and are fighting their battle. They have not gone on strike. They could do it, but they would have to strike against themselves because they are partly responsible for the discrimination against them. However, in sum, they would not win the battle by themselves without the support of all the mass organizations, the party, and the socialist state.

However, we are pleased to state that women are now part of our production activities; hundreds of child-care centers have been opened; we have created enough child-care centers to handle 100,000 children. We must of course bear in mind that not all the women are 25 years old; some of them are 30 to 40 years old and their children do not have to be sent to the child-care centers. However, we have the capacity to take care of approximately 100,000 children for those mothers who work and whose children go to school. We had... [corrects himself] have the capacity to handle 70,000 children in Havana. We hastily implemented a program when the rectification process showed us that we had neglected the construction of child-care centers because of technocratic, theoretical, and bureaucratic views that considered child-care centers to be a luxury and not a need for the production and services sectors.

Highly qualified women should be allowed to work in the industrial and materials production sectors because our country's main problem is not unemployment, even though we have an excess of workers in certain regions. We must quickly carry out an industrialization and investment program in those regions, because they are less developed and have a larger population. This happened in the eastern provinces: The eastern provinces have a birth rate of 21 per 1,000, but the national average is 16 per 1,000. The birth rate is higher in those provinces, and it was even higher in the past. Those provinces are our own third world despite the revolution's efforts.

We found out that 18 per 1,000... [corrects himself] 18 percent of the children in Havana Province, which includes the capital, were born to women under 20 years of age; and almost one-third of the children in the eastern provinces are born to 20-year-old women. We studied these figures to carry out a broad program. We attained social and education development with the programs. There are also more children per family in the eastern provinces, so women's participation in slightly more difficult. However, women's participation is almost the same in many places, 30 to 40 percent; but I must add that 54 percent of the country's technical force is composed of women; it is now 54 percent. They now surpass the men. [applause]

Have we or have we not attained a certain level of equality or possibilities for women? Many women are engineers, architects, or doctors; others are assistant technicians. A large number of our 266,000 professors and teachers are women. It is the same in the health sector. Most of the students in the country's 20 medical faculties are women, and we choose them according to their experience and vocation. What have we discovered? We almost had to establish a quota because two out of three students registering in the medical faculty would be women if the registration was based on their files only. [applause] We had to attain a balance because of their functions, internationalist missions, etc.; but that idea has almost been discarded. The registration is now practically based on what each file shows, so women's participation in such an important sector, medicine, will certainly increase.

Just remember the women's situation in the past: Our country once had a population of 6.5 million and there were 100,000 prostitutes. The estimates of those who directly worked as prostitutes and those who indirectly worked as prostitutes... [changes thought — FBIS] Many of the luxury stores, bars, and other places were in fact brothels where the girls were taken to be very liberal and generous with the rich clients, so the girls were really prostitutes. A certain situation prevailed: Few women had a job; most of the illiterates were women; and women could only work at home or as servants in other houses. The women could only work in domestic activities, prostitution, and other activities where they received smaller salaries for doing the same job.

All this has been abolished, and women are now a majority in technical jobs that have a high social status and salary. We are waging a battle and have attained considerable progress. We will never take a step backwards, even though certain things are the same thoroughout the world, including the socialist countries: Certain theoretical experts might say that if we are going to have unemployed people they should be women, not men. Certain socialist technocrats and theoretical experts might accept the principle of having a surplus labor force because production is better organized and discipline is better enforced when you have a surplus of unemployed workers. However, a real revolutionary and socialist can never accept those concepts and must seek a better way to organize society. [applause]

We will never reverse these advances. We have hundreds of child-care centers. In Havana alone we have 350 child-care centers with a capacity for 40,000 children; in 2 years we will increase the number by 50 percent, to 60,000. The number of pending requests by mothers who want to enroll their children in the child-care centers is 19,500. On 31 December the capacity will have increased by 10,000 in less than 1 year. In December 1988 we will have met the total demand for child-care centers in Havana. We will begin a similar program in the rest of the provinces in 1988. In 1990 we will have met all the needs for child-care centers throughout the country. There will be no mother whose child is unable

to enroll. If there is an increased demand—there might be mothers who had not even requested enrollment because they knew there were limitations—we will simply increase the capacity with the tremendous social forces we have developed or we have unleashed with a mass movement through what we have called the construction microbrigades. I will not try to explain this to you because it would take too long, but you can ask the comrades here in Havana what the microbrigades are and what concepts they involve. It is a truly revolutionary idea that promises a lot. There are already 18,000 in Havana alone. At the end of the year we will have 30,000 for programs to build housing, child-care centers, schools, etc., etc. In this way we overcome the limitations resulting from the lack of manpower for all those construction programs; of the number of opportunities for a worker in Havana, one prefers a steady and stable job in a factory or another center rather than the nomadic work of a construction worker, even if it pays more and includes various benefits.

I am not going to extend myself on this, but I will just say that as a result of this mass movement for which material is needed... [changes thought] because we will not have enough material for all the masses that we can mobilize for construction. We will not have enough material, but we are making a great effort in developing production of cement, steel, and various materials for floors, ceiling, and walls. I will not extend myself on this, because this is not a topic for the congress of lawyers, but it does have something to do with the important topic of the country's social development, facilities for housing for mothers, schools for their children, double school sessions, all the semiboarding schools that are needed, and all the child-care centers that are needed. It is not enough to proclaim this; we have to create the conditions for it. We are making a great effort in this regard. This is a field in which we have advanced much and in which we plan to continue advancing without hesitation, without turning back, and without any type of yielding.

I will now turn to the fourth topic, with which I am getting close to the end. I think this topic is of enormous importance. We have to state some things even though Escalona already said something about this tropic of human rights, which is so important and fundamental and about which there have been efforts to accuse our country. Our country has been miserably accused and slandered. Therefore, I want to expand a little on this topic and on our concepts about human rigths, because an incredible treachery has been committed by accusing our country of physically torturing prisoners. There is a big campaign. The imperialists, supported by their NATO allies and by some governments totally dependent on them, tried to place Cuba on trial at the Geneva meeting. They did incredible things to achieve it, but they did not succeed despite the enormous effort. I would say that the United States never pressured so much in one direction. You know that the United States pressures the United Nations. It pressures UNESCO. It blackmails it. It threatens to cut off credits and its share in the financing of those institutions in order to be able to do as it pleases. It does this with such barefacedness as no other U.S. administration had ever done. I think that this topic of human rights is one of the most beautiful banners that the revolutionaries and the progressive and democratic men of the world can carry. They need not be Marxist-Leninist in the idea of respect for human rights.

Escalona explained some things, but I want to say some more things, expand a little on this topic. As he very well said, human rights are not only the right to life, freedom, and security. They are not only the legal and institutional guarantees that every citizen should have and the absolute guarantee regarding his physical integrity. They are not only the right to actively participate, the right to elect, the right to choose the candidates—as occurs in our country—the right to elect them, and to have a truly democratic form of organizing the socialist state. It is a form of organization that the imperialists try to discredit. They only call their system democratic. One would have to see if it is really democratic.

The beggar and the millionaire would have to be equal; the man who is sleeping in the streets of New York covering himself with newspaper and the man who has $100 million. We have seen the terrible inequalities of the following: The infant mortality rate for whites is 10 [per 1,000 births] while the infant mortality rate for blacks is 30. You will not find here any sector that due to ethnic or social origin has a higher infant mortality rate than other sectors. You will not find this among blacks, mestizos, or whites.

Even in the provinces you do not find great differences in the infant mortality rate. However, the differences in the United States are incredible. The rate is four times greater for certain ethnic groups and races. The situation is similar for education, employment, income, and salaries. According to statistics, whites' income is three times greater than that of blacks, and even higher than that of Hispanics, for example, although they work even harder. We know that in the FRG and other European countries, Turks do the construction work and other hard labor; Algerians and people from Third World countries, and even from some European countries like Yugoslavia, go there and those societies reserve the harder work for specific sectors arriving from other countries.

Imperialism actively campaigns to try to discredit the system of a revolutionary country like Cuba. However, human rights can be summarized as the classic rights that must be put into practice: freedom of religion, the right to belong to a religious group, and the right to express one's opinion. We are thus developing as never before the concept of criticism and self-criticism. We are promoting harsh public criticism in our press. We are encouraging that by all means. Of course, our press is not private property. We are not talking about imperialism's freedom of the press, which is really freedom for the owners of the newspapers, who can write whatever they want. Newspaper owners in the United States have the sacred right to publish or not publish. Unfortunately, we find that in the capitalist press the vast majority of the

press has extremely conservative, very reactionary, and rightist positions. There are countries where newspapers have a conservative policy linked to multinationals and the large sources of capital. Meanwhile, there are very few leftist newspapers defending the people's cause. If we were to conduct a survey you would see how the international aspect of the media dominates news throughout the world. The news they want published is what gets published. For this they have their technology, their computers, their satellites. They press a little button and 50 reports are published on any given issue. They have automatic machines that send reports. Third World countries with a small, ignored news agency have to use old typewriters and send their messages by traditional means. This means that there is much technological contrast. They have huge and excellent machines.

In our society mass organizations have their newspapers. Labor unions also have their newspapers because they write about and analyze problems. They do it with a critical spirit.

The youth have their newspapers where they expose problems and deliver strong criticism.

The party has its newspaper. Women have a magazine. Scientific organizations have different publications with different editorial policies.

The party has a national newspaper. All the provinces have newspapers and all provinces have local radio stations and are getting television centers. We are developing this. There are two national television networks. Right now it is not economical or rational to have more. But we are developing [words indistinct] solutions since there is no private ownership of the media, is to have broad criticism and self-criticism, to develop public criticism with the participation of everyone who wants to state their opinion.

When we spoke about crime perhaps I failed to mention something I said I would explain to you. In our country we had to face, basically, counterrevolutionary crimes, not common crimes, until we realized we had to greater emphasize that problem. We had to defend ourselves from imperialist aggression, like Nicaragua has to do now.

In addition to the subversive war, to the dirty war, there is psychological warfare, and imperialism would like to be able to stop the entire media and all resources [not further identified].

The revolution, of course, is ever stronger and can face any kind of challenge, but we have waged, and are still waging, a difficult struggle. Have no doubt about this. This is a difficult struggle in the face of imperialist hostility, aggressiveness, and plots.

We have spoken here about the imperialist practice of physically eliminating leaders. I believe that the fact that a few of us are alive here now is undeniable proof of the inefficiency of imperialism. [applause] It is also undeniable proof of the revolution's capability to defend itself and its cadres because they are defended by the people. [applause] [2-second break in reception] [words indistinct] what revolutionaries do.

Here they meet with a united and organized people everywhere and there is no possibility of them to... [changes thought] There are no armed-robbery cases. This is very rare.

Imperialism's subversive activity crashes against the revolution's popular defense mechanism as each citizen, regardless of where he is, defends the revolution. Here an ant does not move; a counterrevolutionary ant cannot move against the people in our society because of the defense mechanisms created by the revolution.

This also explains the failure...[changes though] A few episodes recently came out that were well worth watching: the ridiculous role of imperialism with its espionage in Cuba. For 15 years we had been following them closely, and they believed they had lots of agents and spies here. However, all the information they received was made up by us, by the revolution. The revolution is the one that has kept the CIA informed. [applause] It has kept the CIA informed all these years, really informed, very well informed. It is funny to note that sometimes we told them the truth. At the appropriate time we reported through our comrades that were infiltrated into the CIA—and they infiltrated because the CIA wanted to make them spies, and these comrades were highly esteemed at that tenebrous organization.

What an incredible role! What did they think! All their acts are a constant appeal to people's egoism; all for money's sake. In contrast, those that collaborate with the revolution in the United States and everywhere—many people with diverse nationalities—do so because of principles, because they know the cause is just. The noble cause has to be defended, and the other one is aggressive. I am sure that if any one of you here today knew something that would be useful for the Sandinsts to know you would not delay a minute to give them the information you have. [applause] You would never expect the Sandinists to pay you anything because they cannot and do not have 1 centavo to pay anyone for information received.

All the work they did was done on the basis of money: bribes. I recently met with those comrades, those 27 comrades I have decorated. For various reasons the time had come and it was necessary for us to give the information to the public. It was a terrible blow to their morale and shows that we have defended ourselves and that ours was a popular defense. These are the conditions I mentioned previously that exist in our country.

We have had to take all these factors into account because we have been pushed into a war. For a while it created a besieged mentality that exerted a certain degree of influence in the information media; it caused lack of critical spirit; it promoted little criticism in our press.

Some time ago we had a journalists' convention where all these problems were analyzed, and the policies are being followed consistently. We have said that it does not matter if they make a mistake once or a million times. It will always be preferable to accept the inconveniences of errors made while criticizing than the ones caused by lack of criticism. [applause]

We want the people to express themselves by using the media, we want the people to express themselves broadly, but circumstances here are different; journalism is practiced here in a different manner than it is in a capitalist country. We place great importance on the historical forms that include the human rights chapter and guarantees of all sorts.

We understand the bourgeois revolution, symbolized in the French revolution's ideas of freedom, equality, and fraternity. I firmly believe that the French revolution—because of its class limitations, its abysmal societal differences—never achieved liberty, much less equality or fraternity. By nature the bourgeois society cannot recognize fraternity. Perhaps in the revolution's first years, when they confronted feudalism and absolute monarchy, one could talk about the existence of a certain fraternity among artisans, workers, merchants, industrialists, etc.—but within the limits that merchants and industralists can be fraternal.

There really could not have been any type of equality between the salary earner and the industrialist, between the proprietor of a production center and the person who only has his labor force, between the poor farmer and the landowner, between the rich and the poor; it never existed. Liberty was relative; only certain citizens could enjoy liberty. Elections were also relative

In the United States you often have to choose the less evil candidate, trying to avoid choosing the worse candidate. Sometimes, a few times, they have elected a Roosevelt; and now they have made the unfortunate mistake of electing a man such as Reagan, who brags that he has never read a book in his life. He brags about this, can you imagine? [applause] He must have high esteem for human and moral values. Do you know what his policy has been regarding social issues, with the sick, with the old people, with the students, with the poor people? Reagan wants to return to last century's economy, to last century's liberalism, as if that were really feasible.

We were on the subject of elections, on whom they elect. Everything is relative. There are two major parties. You know how all those campaigns are: many millions, television, and propaganda. The one that has money gets elected.

To take an obvious example, you know that in some of our brother Latin American countries electoral campaigns may cost as much as $100 million or $200 million. This is to take an obvious example. The image is created, which includes hair combing; hair styling; the tie; the color of suit; the smile, which has to be rehearsed even 50 times, as in the theater; the gesture, which must be energetic; the phrase; the witticism; the idea. They even study what the people think. They never try to influence the people's ideas. They want to know what the people think in order to tell people what they like to hear and to get their vote on election day. After they give them their vote everything is over.

As I have said on other occasions, not even the Roman emperors had the power Reagan has. Reagan can lead the world to war. He goes around with a little briefcase in which they say he has the keys and the codes and can give the orders to fire 1 or 50 missiles without consulting any congress. They say that Nero burned Rome and history books—which are often wrong because some say one is good and some say one is bad... [changes thought] We have always thought that Nero was very mean because the books say he began playing a harp while Rome burned—he had ordered it burned—and also that Caligula did this or that and that he named his horse a consul. I am not going to say anything else because I just felt like saying something, but I won't say it. [laughter, applause] Well, what I was going to say—thinking about this, that Caligula could do that—is that the Roman people never elected a horse as consul. [laughter] Get it? [laughter] The power a president has in the United States... [changes thought] That is the power a president has, the power to unleash a nuclear holocaust and that is the end of all of us. Let's see, what right does Reagan have to kill all of us tomorrow because he catches a spirochete of some kind, [laughter] or a virus of some kind, or because he goes mad and opens the little briefcase and gives the code [laughter] for launching some missiles? What Roman emperor had that power?

Is democracy implicit in that system? It is the system of a man who can make the world disappear in one day, if he wakes up crazy some morning. You have talked a lot about peace, but take a look at the one who is going to control world peace and the life of all humanity. You promote peace and it is very right to do so. You have said that peace is essential for the countries' progress and development.

However, we find a system headed by an individual who can decree our death tomorrow if he wants to. He can decree the death of all children including newborn babies, those who are still in their mothers' womb, and the unconceived children as well, because the goal is to eliminate them all.

Is that a model of a system? Does it have collective leadership? No one in this country can do something remotely similar. No one in this country can even appoint a minister, because he thinks that a minister should be appointed. We have our mechanisms to appoint ministers, we have our party's leadership, and our Politburo. In this country not even a minister is elected by a single person, it is discussed by the Politburo. In this country no one chooses an ambassador. For example, the foreign relations minister cannot appoint a

friend of his to a diplomatic post. Not even a vice minister is appointed by a single person. Those appointments are discussed at the party's secretariat as are all other government appointments. No one can appoint a friend or individual to any post. We have collective leadership and I believe that that is one thousand times more democratic than a system that grants imperial powers. [applause]

How does a government function? How does one lead and administer a country? Those systems produce deified leaders who hold absolute power, and many of the so-called representative democracies are filled with those rulers. Those are democracies with the permission of his majesty, of the army. That is a rule. Unfortunately, that is the way it is.

We all want, admire, support, and like democratic processes, but we suffer, because we wonder when the economic crisis, problems, the foreign debt, the wearing-out process of the governments will end with the democratic processes. They last until the day when a general comes and says: I give the orders from now on. He proclaims himself by his own decree, but even under those conditions elected politicians in the government have much more power than any of us. They can do and undo as they please.

Is it true that we do not have any influence? We do have influence, but we have the influence that our agreements and reasons give us. We can justify and defend our positions with ideas and criteria. If someone ask me: What are your powers? I would say that my power is to be able to defend an idea or a criteria before the pertinent organizations. In other words, that does not exclude the influence that leaders have, but influence is very different from privilige.

Generally speaking, at present a party elects someone today and the next day the party may very well cease existing. The so-called presidentialist regimes start making decisions with the powers granted by the armed forces, not by the constitution. They can make many decisions whether the party that elected the leaders still exists or not.

Here in Cuba the party exists. It is an essential instrument. It is not an administrative instrument; it educates and leads the masses. It supports all kind of great movements including labor, production, and defense.

If we conduct a thorough analysis we conclude that we have much more democratic principles and procedures than the United States. You know what happens there. There is a high level of ignorance there. We were surprised when we learned that there are about 60 million illiterate people in the United States and that there are many people who cannot read the routes on the city buses.

Several U.S. institutions have said that there are dozens of millions of illiterate people in the United States. Those people cannot even read the newspaper. There is a system of inequalities in which a man has the power every 4 years to see what gentleman he elects, but the election is already determined by a number of elements. Billions of pesos are spent in publicity for the campaigns. We do not have publicity in our elections. What does our electoral constituency do with the citizens who are proposed by the masses? Their resumes are exhibited in various public places. It is only their resume. We do not allow anyone to say: Vote for me because I am tall, short, handsome, or have this or that characteristic, or because I am funny. You know that there are many politicians who tell jokes. I believe that he has some advisers who travel to Venezuela or Colombia when Reagan visits those countries and give him their jokes and tell him which ones he can tell. What distinguished patriot can he mention in his jokes—even if he is not as well-known as Superman? You see? He even has advisers to help him tell jokes in his speeches. There is not truth, sincerity, or spontaneity in what he does or says.

This type of electoral campaign is impermissible. The individual's biography, his life, his merit, his history will determine if he deserves to receive the honors or the responsibilities of a post. That is how our country functions. [applause]

We are now accused of violating human rights, when we are a country that has ended its drug problem, and you know by experience the tragedy created by the market and the [words indistinct], created by those consumer societies. These consumer societies and markets changed the traditional custom of cultivating coca in Bolivia, Peru and other countries, where such cultivation is an ancient, traditional activity, like tea or coffee growing, not like drug cultivation. The blame for increased production lies over there but they do not want to control it there; they want to control it over here in these countries. They are killing the people with hunger, and if someone—because of the same situation—has no other alternative but to cultivate drugs, they try to solve the problem through the use of repressive measures; not through economic cooperation; not through cancelling debts so that the countries can develop and generate jobs, so that the workers and peasants can have jobs; no, [applause], but through pesticides, helicopters, expeditionary groups, repression, and war. What hurts us is that they do not do this over there, but in Latin America. It hurts us to know they are producing synthetic cocaine, and perhaps they are even competing with those who produce the natural drug. They are producing synthetic cocaine in laboratories, and everyone knows that the current leading marijuana producer in the world is the United States. Everyone knows this and the United States has published the fact that the gross value of marijuana production is $18 billion, and that corn, which was traditionally the leading product, today occupies the second place. The production of marijuana in the United States is worth a great deal. It is the leading farm product in the country, and a great deal is produced in hothouses and indoors, and even home-growing has developed. There are families who cultivate marijuana

in their flower beds or their backyards so that they will not have to buy it for themselves and their close relatives. They can do that. They are helpless, impotent, because drug consumption in the United States results from the system, from alienation, from the system's philosophy, and they cannot and will not change this because they have trained the people in habits of wastefulness and excesses. How can they control this situation now?

They cannot, but does our country have these problems? We have better marijuana here than in the United States, but the crime of growing and consuming marijuana is rare, very rare in our country. No one knows about cocaine here. Those who have seen it in the newspaper know it is a white powder, that it has a certain color. No one has ever seen cocaine here unless some tourist had a little bit. It is a phenomenon we do not have here. Is this worth nothing? A society, a system, a revolution that has erradicated drugs? Is this worth nothing? [applause] To thus preserve the mental and physical health of the citizens is worth nothing.

The country has erradicated gambling, and gambling crimes are rare also. Gambling is a capitalist philosophy. It is a way out of work. It makes people aspire to have good luck, to win the lottery. In Cuba the lottery is not even used to collect funds for the state. The lottery and all forms of gambling were among the first things to be erradicated by the revolution. Gambling is very rare. Is this worth nothing? Gambling was one of the causes for problems among families, it caused children to go hungry. Parents used to gamble their salaries and lose all of it. Is this worth nothing?

The revolution, with its policy of social justice, education, and honest job opportunities for all men and women, erradicated prostitution in the country. Is this worth nothing? From the point of view of human rights a process, a revolution that has erradicated prostitution, something so harsh, so bitter, so injurious for women who had to sell themselves to earn a living—and this is not a matter of morality. It is just that prostitution is a way of life that has become almost inevitable and necessary, and there are prostitution organizations within capitalism. We will struggle against this now, but our society has demonstrated its ability and its deeply human qualities by erradicating prostitution.

In our country you do not see barefoot children. Sometimes they go barefoot just for the hell of it, not because they do not have shoes. They do it because they want to wade in the water or because they see other children barefoot. You do not see children begging, you do not see children cleaning vehicle windows instead of being in school, how about that [applause], or shining shoes, or selling newspapers, or swallowing fire, at the ages of 10 or 12. [words indistinct]

Are these societies humane? There is no society more humane than ours. You see children at a certain time, in their uniforms. You see these children, little ones, going to their child-care centers, others going to primary and secondary schools. So, you do not see any children doing those other things.

A society that does not put an end to such hard, bitter, cruel, and depressing spectacles is not humane. In our country, you do not see beggars; you do not see a single beggar around. It is a practice that is very usual everywhere else. You do not see one because they are at the orphanage, have a place to live, or receive social assistance. Therefore, they do not have to ask for alms. There is no one without social assistance. Our revolution eradicated begging. [applause]

Is this not worth anything? Are other societies more humane?

The same goes for the work done by our revolution in education. We went from 30-percent illiteracy and 80-percent semi-illiteracy to a society with people who have almost reached a secondary-school level. We do not have a single citizen who has to go through the humiliation of having to use his fingerprints to sign. [applause]

In our population, everyone can read a book. There are thousands of libraries and millions of books. Books are reasonably priced. There is no place in the world where books are cheaper than Cuba. We do not have enough printing plants to print books needed because of the increasing reading habit that we all have. Our people read literary and scientific works. There is not a single citizen who cannot read a paper, any newspaper, or book.

It is humane that there are societies, the offsprings of neocolonialist and imperialist policies, where 50 percent of the people do not know how to read or write—or 60, or 30, or 20, or even 1 percent? Even if 1 percent do not know how to read or write, it is a disgrace. One percent of 10 million is 100,000. It would be a disgrace if there were 100,000 people who did not know how to read or write. Is that system more humane? Are those societies more humane?

Is there not some value in having eradicated illiteracy, reached such educational levels, and given equal opportunity to each citizen? Is there not some value to the fact that the son of a peasant or worker can do anything? He can be the best surgeon or scientist, or hold any post. How can I not be aware that this can have some value when I know that at the place where I was born, there were hundreds of children who could not attend school? The only privileged ones among us who could attend school and study were the sons of those who owned the land. Thanks to that, we were able to attend primary and secondary schools. Then we continued our studies. We entered the school of law, where so many revolutionaries graduated. I do not know if it was because of a lack of jobs or what, but some of them graduated from there. [applause]

I ask myself: Should I consider myself more capable than those 100 children? Was I some kind of a genius, or what? Imagine if I had been 1 of the 100 children who

were unable to complete primary and secondary schools, the prep school, and the university to acquire a certain level of knowledge and the capacity to have certain theoretical concepts.

I frankly say: I bet there were better children than I. I think that a Spanish poet spoke of the hidden genius who was waiting for a hand to wake him up. The true geniuses are in the masses. He who thinks that he is more intelligent than others is an idiot. Where there are 100 people involved, how do you know who is intelligent? Who would know better than we who had to fight 10 or 100? We mention 100, but the leaders of this country came out of the men and women of the masses. Men and women no one knew. Their names have never been published in the newspaper. Brilliant organizers and brilliant military chiefs arose from the masses, and yet they had never gone to an academy.

Che was never in any academy. Camilo was never in an academy. They came from the people. [applause]

Is a society that awakens the intelligence and gives the opportunity to become intelligent to millions of people not worth anything? Is a society that uses the intelligence of millions of people not worth anything? The opportunities available for millions of people make this society more humane than a society that makes it a rule to give the opportunity to attend university, become educated and enjoy the benefits of all that only to a privileged minority.

Is a society more humane because it provides an opportunity to 100,000 out of 10 million to learn and enjoy the best of man's spiritual and cultural creations? Is a society more humane because it gives this opportunity to a mediocre minority, generally speaking? In that society, those mediocres people are the only ones who have access to these opportunities. I am referring to education. Our society permits all children to go to nurseries so their mothers can work; a society where those children can perhaps live part-time at a boarding school; a society where they can have a chance to attend higher learning institutions based solely on the merit, effort, and ability of each individual.

I have spoken about public health. When the revolution triumphed, more than 60 babies still born for every 1,000 live births. It remains to be seen, as Escalona said, whether those figures were reliable. Nobody knew for sure about this. As some of you will remember, people died here, and death certificates were not even issued. Nobody kept records of them. There were epidemics that devastated the people—epidemics of gastroenteritis, typhus, and other diseases.

The revolution had reduced these numbers to fewer than 15. It has been able to reduce the infant mortality rate in the first year of life to 13.6. It is continuing these efforts, and in another 5 years it will reduce that rate to under than 10. The country will be one of the foremost countries in the world. [applause]

Isn't a revolution humane if in 28 years it has saved the lives of over 300,000 children of various ages who would have surely died, statistically and mathematically, without the revolution? Isn't it more humane and democratic than a system that allows those 300,000 children to die, forgotten and unmentioned? Not to mention the suffering and even the physical or mental incapacity of others, such as occurs with poliomyelitis, which is still creating invalids today, when the polio vaccine costs only a few cents because there are systems that cannot be bothered to spend even a few cents to protect children from death or disability by poliomyelitis. Is such a society more humane than ours? Is it more humane than a society which is carrying out increasingly ambitious and promising programs, not only to preserve life, but also to avert tragedies; which has massive prenatal genetics programs that are not available in other countries; which will be able to make an early detection of congenital deformations of any kind that are incompatible with life—whether they are of the neural tube, leading to birth defects, or whether it is a case of a life-threatening congenital cardiopathy that can be detected early through our programs, or a case of learning that a newborn child has hyperthyroidism, and preventing him from becoming mentally retarded through a simple treatment, or learning that the child is allergic, always a high percentage, 13 percent of our country, for example—in order to prevent all these diseases that produce pain and suffering? Are these societies which do not even think of this or ever take it into account more humane, or is the more humane society the one which takes the pains and makes the effort that our country is making in this regard?

Is a society in which medical services are not within the reach of the great majority of the people more humane than a society in which a heart transplant costing more than $100,000 anywhere in the world is given free of charge to any citizen, even a counterrevolutionary worm who is the enemy of the revolution? [applause]

Is the U.S. society more humane when there is so much demagoguery and so much politicking when there is a need for a transplant, with public collections, etc., and generous millionaires who salve their consciences by donating $10,000 to save the child? Nothing like this occurs in our society for a kidney, pancreas, or heart transplant to take place. These are techniques which we have been able to develop successfully in our country despite the blockade, and which are available to any citizen, any of the humblest citizens without discrimination of any kind. Is that society which blockades our country and prohibits the export of medicine or any medical equipment to Cuba more humane? We have to get capitalist equipment from Japan, Switzerland, the FRG, or England because the United States has banned the sale of equipment that could save a life. Is that society more humane when it bans the sale of even an aspirin to this country? A person here who needs medication that is available only in the United States could die because that country that talks so much about human rights forbids the export of so much as an aspirin. See the

extent of that brutal and merciless blockade by that hypocritical government that wants to put Cuba on trial in the area of human rights.

Are those systems more humane when there are no clinics at the service of the people? It is true that there are some clinics, but is there intensive therapy for children? Meanwhile, all the children of this country, all the country's pediatric hospitals have intensive pediatric therapy with the most modern equipment and specialized personnel engaged in this.

We have mentioned only a few programs, because there are many in this country. We could talks about the family doctor program, which has already been extended to the eastern mountains and already covers large areas of our country. It is a new institution that is not available in any other country in the world. It emerged here within the revolution, [applause] and includes thousands of young, well-trained doctors. It will include 20,000 doctors within the period of only 10 more years. Is a society in which all the doctors are concentrated in the capitals and in which millions of people have no access to medical services more humane than a system that sowed hospitals and polyclinics throughout the country? Not content with taking the primary network of polyclinics to the level of 25,000 or 30,000 people, it has taken doctors to communities containing 500 to 600 people. Day and night, they are there, safeguarding the health of every citizen.

Is a regime more humane when it cannot even teach... [changes thought] when such things cannot even be imagined, when the empire steals the best brains, using its economic possibilities and resources, something that has occurred with many Latin American intellects? They are there in the empire. Is a society or system more humane when it allows the stealing of its best, who are so greatly needed, who go over there to widen the abyss that exists between the developed and underdeveloped? This, which happens here between the United States and Latin America, also happens between Europe and Africa, whose greatest inteilects in the fields of medicine and science stay in London, or Paris, or some other place, and do not return to their countries.

Escalona said that the life expectancy in our country had been approximately 55 years, but it is now 74 years. The life expectancy in our country will surpass 80 years in 10 years with the programs we are currently implementing. We have reached the United States' level, and in 10 years we will surpass the United States—the country that blockades us. [applause]

Thousands upon thousands of Cuban technicians give their services to Third World countries; more than 2,000 medical technicians have been sent. Our program for the development of medical sciences and formation of medical personnel includes 10,000 doctors who will work abroad in 2000. Due to the revolution's efforts our country offers medical services to all the population, and has even implemented what we might describe as a sophisticated system, meaning the family doctor. Furthermore, our country has more doctors working abroad than the United Nations' WHO, and our doctors work for free in other countries, and our doctors work for free in other countries [repeats himself]. [applause]

Our system is more humanitarian than the system which steals doctors and scientists from the Third World. Our country sends its sons, doctors, teachers, and engineers to any country in the world—no matter how far away it is—and did so even though our country did not have enough teachers to send to the mountain areas during the capitalist regimes since no one had been trained for this. No doctors had been trained for this service; the doctors had not been trained to go work in the mountains. Today, thanks to the government's humanitarian policy, the people's education, and the development of our people's internationalist spirit we can send doctors and teachers even to Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Mali, and dozens of other countries. [applause]

More than 22,000 foreign students from over 80 countries are currently studying in our country with a scholarship, and their education is completely free. What is more humanitarian, the system which steals technicians from countries which need them very much, or the system of a small country which—like Cuba—is capable of training tens of thousands of technicians from Third World countries? Where is the humanitarian side of the former and the cruel side of ours?

We will specifically refer to the vile accusations about torture. What can we say when someones wants to charge us with human rights violations? We can state that our country has not had a missing person, not a single one, during its 28-year revolution. You have mentioned many countries where a lot of people were reported missing and many more continue to be reported missing. Which country can state that no one has been reported missing in 28 years or that not a single man has been murdered on the streets? [applause] What country could really state that it has not had a single case of torture in 28 years? What country can state this? I add, what revolution can state this?

We know what kind of feelings have been unleashed during revolutions throughout history. However, you should not ask me this question; you should ask the people if they have ever heard anything about this issue. You must ask anyone among our millions of inhabitants—you can even ask someone who is against the revolution—if he has ever heard or knows about a single case of torture in our country. Some people insist on those accusations because they want to put us on the same level with the Pinochets, Stroessners, and Central American governments which murdered, massacred, caused to disappear, and tortured tens of thousands of people. They have no arguments so they spend their time fabricating all kinds of lies. Could a revolution without principles and deeply-rooted ethics possibly have triumphed in Cuba? Could a group of penniless men

without principles or deeply-rooted ethics and without a single rifle begin a revolution and defeat a government which was supported by the empire and had 80,000 soldiers? A small group of men conquered the nation with their efforts, actions, and—above all—their principles. Our revolution struggled... [corrects himself] began struggling against injustice and the tyranny. We saw how our comrades were persecuted, murdered, and tortured every day; and our people began to hate crime, injustice, torture, and violations of all human beings. This is not simply a statement; we can prove it, with the histories or documents of tens of thousands of prisoners we captured among Batista's armed forces. Not a single prisoner was assassinated, beaten up, tortured, or physically mistreated; they were detained only 48 to 72 hours because we could not feed them. We had to call the International Red Cross; there are documents with the names of all those Batista armed forces prisoners—many of whom must still be alive—to prove this.

Any serious person desiring to look into these things could find out whether any one of these prisoners was maltreated in the very least. We did not win the war by killing or torturing prisoners. We did not win over the people's awareness and support by killing and torturing prisoners, as our enemies did. We won the war because the people trusted us, our uprightness, our dignity. We won the war because soldiers who fought fiercely at the beginning because they thought they would be killed learned about the rebel army's policy. In the end these soldiers gave themselves up for lost in combat and laid down their weapons in barracks or cities. In the end some soldiers surrendered three times. We did not receive a single rifle or round of ammunition from any government. The cartridges and the rifles with which we waged and won the war were cartridges and rifles of Batista's army, which we took from the enemy in combat. [applause]

Yet we did not apply a good war strategy, but basically a good war policy, principles in which our people were trained. It was based on our people's courage and culture. Our revolution has been marked by our loyalty to principles. We might say this revolution is nearly unique in the world. We took care that we never violated our principles regarding respect for prisoners on the enemies' physical integrity. We had laws, revolutionary tribunals. They were severe laws, but we never forced the people or anybody to obey them. The party directorate made sure this never occurred. For instance, the mercenaries who invaded this country, who served the empire and a foreign power—these mercenaries would have deserved a death penalty according to any legislation. More than 1,200 prisoners, many of whom are still alive, are living off those glories and the U.S. taxpayers, we may say. We took 1,200 prisoners after 72 hours of arduous combat. There is not a single case; there they are. Ask, judge, if there is a single one of them who was maltreated. They were interviewed by the press and television stations. Not even one of them can say they received a single rifle butt blow. See what an education that our people and combatants have! How proud we are of their principles and equity! Neither the din of combat nor the memory of their comrades wounded or killed in combat led a single one of our thousands of militiamen, combatants, or soldiers to physically assault a single one of those traitors. I would like to know how the United States would have treated an army of U.S. mercenaries who would invade that country at the service of a foreign power. They cannot produce a single case to justify their actions.

They—Reagan—did incredible things in Geneva to justify them. They have fabricated characters, writers, and poets, with works written abroad. This is what happened with the famous Valladares. [applause] He received much publicity in the world. His books, distributed throughout the world, are full of all types of loathsome lies. That man possesses no culture. In a recent interview in Italy a reporter asked him three or four questions and completely unmasked him; he knew nothing about anything. The great intellectual and the great poet was arrested because he was a member of a group of plotters and terrorists. He was caught with all the evidence and all the weapons. He was sentenced by tribunals. He was a member of Batista's police. This information is registered in files and documents. He posed as a cripple. A great campaign was staged in the world. Those governments who are slaves to the rightist press felt it was their duty to become interested because the rightist press gave a hard time to those governments who had relations with us and requested Valladares' release. We had released thousands of inmates. We had not released this man because he had cheated everybody by posing as a cripple. We asked... [changes thought] we talked with with leading orthopedists, and they determined that the man was not a cripple at all. It was incredible. He had faked everything. Then we decided to make a technical observation, keep watch on him by some means, electronic or otherwise. The man did exercises. The very first thing he did in the morning was to look around to see if he was being watched. We have it on film. It is a pity those films have not been shown to you. He would look around, get up, and run. He enjoyed excellent health.

If something has been characteristic of the counterrevolutionary prisoners who have left here and who are used by imperialism later on, it is the excellent health they have—living proof of our health system, not only in the mountains and with children, but with the counterrevolutionaries in prison. They are the healthiest people in the world. [applause] That shows what propaganda is all about.

When the French president became interested, we were almost told it was the end of the world. We were told that the socialist government would crumble if we did not help the French Government by releasing this personage. We told this personage: There is an interest in you, but we are going to show you something. He was seated in his wheelchair; the movie was shown to him; he could not hold back any longer—he jumped out of his shoes. We even have the film that shows he jumped out of his shoes. We have all of that. [applause] We have the film of the day when the great poet rose from his wheelchair. In fact,

he left and he walked up the airplane's boarding stairs. He was trained for that. He exercised every day. He was better off than we are. He had more time to exercise than we did. He got there that way. However, he was a Batista policeman. To stop it all the United States appointed Batista's policeman, a terrorist, the U.S. representative to the international institution on human rights. How far can Mr Reagan go? He made him consul— he made him what? He made a Batista policeman a human rights representative.

I do not think that there is much difference between what he did and what has been said that Caligula did. [laughter, applause] It is incredible.

In the case of Mr Menoyo, who came here armed with rifles and everything else to wage the U.S. war, and who was sentenced to many years in prison, as he deserved— he really deserved much more for being a traitor, a mercenary, for having invaded the country at the service of the CIA and imperialism—we had the same problem. The media of the right waged a huge campaign. It appeared that the Spanish socialist government would collapse. Fine, gentlemen, we are going to send you this gentleman in good health. The United States immediately placed him in front of the Human Rights Committee, and he repeated like a parrot what he was told to say about human rights and torture in Cuba. That gentleman left Cuba healthy. He had not a single mark on him. He was in splendid shape. We are not going to dirty our hands touching any of these miserable people or any miserable person. [applause]

You will not believe things they did there, the farce they mounted there [at the UN Human Rights Committee]. There was this gentleman who was missing a leg. He committed a counterrevolutionary crime, and it was necessary to penalize him. Later he was released. This man, who had an artificial leg, was taken there to say that he had lost his leg in prison, as a result of torture. The Cuban personnel there had to present trial documents and a doctor's certificate demonstrating that the man was missing a leg before going to prison. [laughter] Things like this. Shamelessness! Barefacedness!

In spite of its power and influence, the United States was unable to secure a majority. It was unable. It exerted more pressure then ever. But there is something more important than we who have been men of principle and who have been consistent with our principles, without exception: Our people would not tolerate that kind of policy. The people know that we do not tell them lies. The 10 million Cubans know that I would not come here to deny something that may have happened, to shamelessly lie. Our people have trust in the revolution and its leaders, because we have never resorted to lies. [applause]

The charge that we torture people here is an insult to the people because our people would not permit that. We, a small group with ethics, are not the ones who have decided that this should not be done. Our people have ethics, they have been educated with the principles of the revolution, in such a way that they would not excuse this contradiction of principles in spite of the fact that, as I have told you, the masses are radical. If the party or the revolution has one merit it is not its politics but that it educated the people in that sense and with these principles.

Therefore, the most disgraceful part is the insult inflicted upon our people when someone says that we may be practicing such a thing. Talk with our people and see how our people think, what they believe, how they feel, and you will see how profound those values are and without them no revolution could have withstood the power of the empire.I ask myself whether our process, society, and system could withstand an in-depth trial on all these human rights issues. The U.S. Government would never come out scott free from a trial such as this.

The empire [changes thought] ...you are familiar with the things the CIA does. You see there the hypocrisy, the lie. That is a government that lies every day and to justify each of its crimes it has done nothing more than lie, in Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, and in Libya, where in an unusual and unprecedented act, it bombed the home of the family of the chief of state. A little girl was killed, an innocent child, a victim of the F-111 bombers and of the bombs made by imperialist technology. When has this ever been seen? They seek justification for this action.

And how much hypocrisy is wrapped around the Irangate episode, how many lies, how much cowardice? Reagan said he knew nothing. He is either the biggest fool in the world or the biggest liar in the world. [applause]

What kind of leadership experience does he have? Everyone knows what people do in the open. There are people who do things up front. But, most evident was his hypocrisy; he spoke of terrorism and a million things while he was exchanging weapons for hostages. He did not follow through with what he said. He is doing exactly what he said he would never do and he is doing this behind the Congress' back, behind the peoples back. He admits that he knew about this but that his reasons were full of noble intentions. He said that he wanted to prove that a moderate attitude could prevail over a more radical attitude, etcetera, etcetera. But all the information on the weapons that were delivered and not delivered is there. He claims that he did not know the money was being funneled to the contras.

Ah, the chief of the CIA—I think his name was Mr William Casey—died. Reagan is probably saying, my friend, one of my officials, died at a good time. [laughter] [applause]

They say that the chief of the National Security Council knew of this. How can it be that Reagan would not know if his chief of the security council knew? Reagan had to know about it. They say that Casey knew about it. If the CIA chief knew, how could Reagan not know? This is impossible, but now I will discuss the laws of psychology.

Everyone knows that Reagan, who is not informed on anything, who has no figures on anything, was informed—with figures and everything—on only one problem, that of Nicaragua. And those who have spoken to him have said so. He has to have notecards on everything. He calls on someone and says, explain this to me right away, so that he can speak on a certain topic. The only topic on which he speaks, without advisers, notes, or reminders is that of Nicaragua. He knows all the details. He was and still is obsessed with Nicaragua. He asked for money; he did everything. It is an obsession.

Is it possible that Reagan was surrounded by advisers and collaborators who were so cruel that they denied him the joy, pleasure, and sweet (?illusion) of hearing them say: listen boss, listen boss, the money we made from the Iran-hostage business was sent to the counterrevolutionaries. [applause] That goes against the laws of human psychology. A psychologist can explain this. It goes against the laws of the mentality of politicians and the psychology of subordinates. I have said that Reagan let me down because I thought he was a staunce reactionary, that he was a tough guy, that he was truly a cowboy [previous word rendered in English], a cowboy [repeats himself in Spanish], [audience laughs], a person faithful to his friends. He let me down with his yes, I knew, no I did not know but, and then searching for a scapegoat, Poindexter, North—he is an American hero—, or anyone else. You can see the problem. Just look in whose hands the world is in; in the hands of a madman like him. [laughter] Unfortunately, U.S. public opinion is sometimes so confused that they are capable of seeing in a hero [corrects himself] a hero in a bandit like Mr North. It's unbelievable! [applause]

This does not speak highly of the level of political education among the U.S. people and shows the level of misinformation to which the people of the United States are sometimes subjected.

I previously spoke of 27 spies that were presented to the public with irrefutable proof. Do you think this has been published in the United States? Ha! They have the mechanisms to hide something, when they want to block a news item, they can totally block it. While that media makes a hero out of North, hardly one word has been published on the largest fiasco, one of the biggest foolish acts ever made by an institution of homage [corrects himself] espionage.

There we see it. The cowboy [previous word rendered in English], the movie tough guy, the one who wins all the wars and all the fights, who with one weapon—a six-shooter—kills 25 people. [laughter] He never runs out of bullets like (Tom Meade) did in the movies I saw when I was 10 or 12 years old. [laughter].

Reagan says no; that he did not know anything. Where are the morals, ethics, principles?

This brings us to the problem that has been discussed extensively: self-determination of peoples. You have noted it; discussed it: the conspiracy against the Guatemala agreements, especially the dirty war that has cost the life of 40 million Nicaraguans. Nicaragua has 3.5 million inhabitants. The United States is 70 times larger than Nicaragua. Forty thousand Nicaraguans have died. That is as if 2.8 million U.S. residents had died.

I ask myself what would happen if 2.8 million people or 280 U.S. citizens died as the result of a dirty war. What would happen if 28 people died? What would they say about a government that would do such a thing? What kind of world do we live in? What is our concept of equality? What kind of equality exists or can exist? What kind of country gives itself the right to do such an atrocious act like bombing [corrects himself] invading Grenada. We counted about 20 bare-faced lies they gave to justify that action. It was very dramatic. There were even some students who were shown kissing the ground in gratitude for being saved and they never even ran the smallest risk of being hurt. It was all an excuse. They even made many U.S. residents believe that it was true. They were moved; they melted with emotion when they saw those children, those youths, kissing the ground. It was one of many excuses.

What right does the United States have to organize a dirty war, aggression, against Nicaragua? They supply a flood of weapons and millions of dollars to support genocide in El Salvador. They loan Pinochet billions of dollars. They support the South African regime, which is purely racist and facist. It is one of the most despicable regimes in the world. Where does it get the right to carry out a dirty war against any revolutionary process? What kind of ethics can there be in this. What type of principles, respect for international institutions, for international laws and norms exist?

I do not have to elaborate on this. You have clearly noted that this government is on the side of the most reactionary and repressive regimes in the world. What kind of ethics, morals does it have? They feel that they are owners of our lives, lands, and rights. The empire wants you to establish the government it wants.

We have been under 28 years of hostility because we chose to follow this path. And Nicaragua has chosen to follow its own path. Anything that implies renovation, any change, any profound social changes of any kind receive the hostility and hatred of the imperialists.

I am pleased that the subjects of self-determination and peace have been focused on at this congress because they are key issues. See what is happening in Latin America. We are treated as we were in the times of Walker, the pirate, and at the time in which they invaded central and western United States. We are treated as we were in the times when they took over the properties of native indians and practically wiped the indians out. A few were left out of the millions of native indians who lived in the United States. Unfortunately, that country began early on implementing an expansionist, genocidal, and destructionist policy. American indians are struggling for

their rights and their land. They are struggling for a more just treatment. Reagan's predecessors had the practice of cutting the scalp of indians and collect them. Those atrocities are well known. The history of the millions of men who were taken out of Africa to make them work here is well known. While the 1776 declaration said that all men are born free and equal, and while they claimed that all men were born free and equal and that the creator granted specific rights such as liberty, etcetera, it happened that for more than a century, black men from Africa were not men and they deserved nothing. the creator had not granted them a thing. They were slaves, and those slaves produced the billions that served to finance capitalism in the United States.

Likewise, Europe's development was financed by slaves from Africa and by indians who also were enslaved and exterminated. This is a fact of history and should be mentioned when recalling the oft-mentioned 5th centenary [of the discovery of America by Columbus].

We should ask ourselves what happened. We know what happened in Cuba: the population practically disappeared. In Mexico, Peru, and many other places, the same is true.

The United States preached and proclaimed some principles. There is much hypocrisy in all this. There was much hypocrisy. Later, black men were slaves no longer but became people earning salaries. After 200 years of the Constitution that the Americans are going to commemorate, whites make three times as much as blacks, and four times as many black children die as white children. There are four times more young white employees than black employees, etc. the same is true for other U.S. minorities.

There is something else, something that is not important to them: the Klu Klux Klan institution that somebody mentioned.

The United States grabbed more than half of Mexico's territory—a historic abuse of force. It grabbed the richest territories, where the huge mineral fields—gold, oil, everything—are, and it still wants to continue attacking Mexico in different ways. The United States has now drafted this cruel immigrant law that will serve to pay less to the Mexicans, to humiliate them more. Mexicans do not want to declare themselves illegal, because they, for good reasons, are distrustful. The Americans do not know what to do now about Mexico, about Mexico's population of 80 million. They are terrified. They would like to sterilize all Mexican women. They want to do this so no more Mexicans are born. They are afraid of their conscience, of immigrations that result from underdevelopment, poverty, exploitation, from the pillaging of our countries.

You have mentioned here the foreign debt as one of the factors that has had very grave consequences on the right of self-determination of our countries. It has been said here that the foreign debt is unpayable, uncollectable, etc.

In 1985, our country waged a lengthy struggle to create awareness in this regard. Two years later, we can say that facts show that we were absolutely right, that the debt is both unpayable and uncollectable. [applause]

No one has any doubt about that any longer. The debt is unpayable for political reasons. Anyone who would have attempted to impose restrictions and force the people to make sacrifices to pay the debt would have been politically ruined. The debt is unpayable economically because there has not been growth in the economy or in exports, and international economic conditions are now worse than ever. It is economically impossible to pay the debt. It is a mathematical impossibility. Mathematics explain with exactness that the debt will be ever increasing, regardless of the formula applied to calculate this.

One day, we calculated the debt and found out that what is owed per hectare, per square kilometer, and per capita is unpayable. It would take 13,000 years to count Latin America's foreign debt dollar by dollar or peso by peso, counting at the rate of a peso or dollar per second.

How can Latin America pay what cannot even by counted. This is no longer a matter of a debt, but a matter of interests in the midst of an international economic crisis and a growing protectionist policy.

In the midst of an increasingly unjust economic order, there is an increasingly unfair trade relationship. To realize this, all we have to do is note how many tons of coffee were necessary to buy a truck 30 or 40 years ago, and how many more tons are necessary now; the same is true for copper, or aluminum, or jute, or cacao, or sugar, or whatever. This is a very pitiless situation that still requires investigation, this matter of unfair trade.

We have said that even if the debt is erased, we would soon be back in the same situation, and we are no longer talking about the debt. Now we are talking about interest, whether they are to be paid or not; and creditors are already establishing conditions.

We have to say this, in honor of the truth: We are missing a great historic opportunity, because the countries of Latin America and the Third World have been unable to unite at this crucial moment. Imperialism created clubs of debtors... [corrects himself] of creditors. But the Third World countries saw the idea of uniting, of forming a union of debtors, a union of all the debtors to discuss with creditors, as almost a bad word, a crime, a sacrilege—because the empire had said this was a bad word, a sacrilege. We are so used to obeying that we were unable to meet, and whenever we did meet, it was done half-heartedly; and if a group of four or six met, that group would not admit others.

We have been wasting time at a moment when the debt is the great motivation, a great historic situation for becoming united, not only to demand the cancelation of the debt—we have paid that debt many times—but also to demand an end to protectionism, dumping, all iniquitous practices, the manipulation of interest rates, and unfair trade.

We had to unite to demand all that, but we have been unable to become united. [applause]

This is a historic fault of the politicians of these times: At the most critical moment, they were unable to promote unity. There is much positive talk about integration, but no steps are taken in that direction. The first thing we had to do was to become united, gentlemen, everybody together. It is impossible to blockade a continent. What was done to Cuba cannot be done to 400 million people who live in Latin America and the Caribbean. [applause]

They were unable to promote unity. We have said this. A great historic possibility has moved away. There is the debt that, as we have said, is mathematically and economically impossible to pay, and is a moral impossibility. We have said it is a moral impossibility to pay, because that money was either taken out, wasted in arms, squandered or stolen. That money did not end up in the hands of the people or serve to satisfy the people's needs.

We all know how that debt was incurred. We all know what happened with that enormous sum of money when there was plenty of it around. You may recall the petrodollars, etc. Creditors used to chase the future debtors around. It is immoral to pay for debts from which the people did not receive any benefits. The debt was squandered or sent abroad. Everyone knows that billions of dollars have gone to the United States in recent years. It is a result of high interest rates and inflation caused by the conditions in our countries. Who wanted to save money in local currency? They invested their money in dollars. They sent their money to the United States to receive higher interest rates. They created the necessary conditions for the flight of capital. How much were they taking away from us? Thirty thousand dollars [figure as heard] per year just to pay the interest rates of the foreign debt. Twenty-odd years ago (?they were) talking about the Alliance for Progress and about loans of $20,000 [figure as heard] per year—for 10 years— for Latin America. Now, when our population is twice as large, when poverty is greater, they are getting four times as much each year, with interest, amortization of the debt, interest and dividends on investment, the flight of capital, and what they steal from us because of unfair trade practices.

They have been taking away about $80 billion per year from us. Last year they took away $30 billion, not to mention flight of capital and unfair trade practices. On foreign debt interest payments alone they have taken away between $120 and $130 billion dollars from Latin America in the last 5 years. Can we develop ourselves? Can we face all of our educational, health, development, and housing problems that way? I ask you, can we do it? Is there any hope for our people if we continue to follow that path?

Our health and educational services have decreased because of the economic crisis. Unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, and infant mortality have increased. It has all been figured out. Statistics show it. Now we have new diseases—AIDS. Who brought AIDS to Latin America? Who has spread AIDS in the third world? There are countries like the Dominican Republic with 40,000 AIDS virus carriers, Haiti, and other countries in Central and South America. Mexico has high indices. Who took it to Brazil and other countries? The United States. In reality, why do we have such low indices? Because they blockaded us. The blockade has served for something. [applause]

They banned tourism and trade. Few U.S. citizens come here and we welcome them. Only a few of them come because they do not want problems with lawyers and journalists. Now do they have medical means to control AIDS? And what do we have? We have the $400 billion debt and we have poor health services. How can we face this disease in Latin America? Of course, I am not including the Cuban case because we have different conditions. In Cuba we are defending ourselves well. After they brought the disease to our countries they have not loaned us a single penny to help us fight the disease.

This economic crisis has been getting worse. You know it. I do not have to convince you of that. I am simply commenting on it.

We have said that the debt is legally impossible to be paid. Why should Chileans in the future pay for Pinochet's $25 billion debt? No one knows how much it is. It was $20 billion 2 years ago. The money was used to purchase weapons to repress the Chilean people, to apply the Chicago school theory, and to turn the economy over to transnational companies. All this brings unemployment, hunger, and other calamities. Is there a legal justification to ask the Chilean people, workers, and peasants to pay for that debt. Who contracted the debt? Military regimes without people's representation. The United States themselves initiated their war of independence when the British tried to levy a tax on tea. The Americans said: No taxation without representation. Now we can tell them: No foreign debt payments without the people's representation. [applause]

That situation creates truly worrying and alarming circumstances, because we no longer even discuss the principal of the debt, only the interest, if anything; but the interest finishes us. Even if interest rates are decreased, they finish us. I repeat, if we eliminate the debt, including the interest, unequal trade does not end; unless there is a new economic order and protectionist policies and dumping [preceeding word in English] end, everything will remain the same or worse.

We know what they did. Until recently, they imported 5 million tons of sugar; now they export 1 million tons of sugar and send that surplus to the world's sugar dump, which is the so-called world market. They subsidize, as they do in Europe, while here world prices remain below production costs and the rich industrialist countries like Japan can buy sugar at 5 or 6 cents a pound, which is half or a third of the production cost. We buy their cranes, equipment, and trucks at their prices and even at higher

prices, because with our level of imports we are actually paying their military expenses and taxes. With our production paid at salaries of $50 to maybe $60 per month—as it is the case with many of these products—we pay their salaries of $1,000, $2,000, or $3,000 per month. That is unequal exchange. It is what is exchanged between those who live well with high wages and the needy. They do not pay us what our products are worth. They give us a pittance for our products. Of course, we have to unite, to attain a new international economic order. We have to create awareness of the situation and get together.

However, great dangers threaten us. The imperialist policy is increasingly aggressive, interventionist, and shameless. It is everywhere. Here you mentioned the cases of the Malvinas, El Salvador, Grenada, Haiti—right now they are supplying them with arms—Panama, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, of course. Well, I have not mentioned them all, they are too many. It is important to notice that they want to target their policies more than ever, and more aggressively than ever. Now they want to turn the foreign debt into investments. That would be the greatest of all catastrophes, because with the money we owe, one could buy all of Latin America. [applause] Of course, they know they are not going to get it, that they cannot collect.

They are inventing things and they already have Pinochet agreeing to pay the debt by investments. At the end, not even the Pinochet's house on the outskirts of Santiago will be his. He will have to deliver it to some Yankee enterprise or bank as part of the payment of the debt. It is disastrous. Very few times we have had such a threat in a continent where there has been so much awareness against monopolistic control. They are trying to carry out that policy and some governments have been inclined toward that policy. We have to be very alert in that regard. We have to create awareness.

In addition, there is a great offensive to promote the privatization of certain enterprises, which were symbols of sovereignty for many years. They are also trying to place public services into the hands of multinationals or private enterprises under the pretext used so frequently by capitalism, the empire, so that they can become more efficient. They want to blame the national sovereignty for the errors, disagreements, and corruption of politicians, who are the ones that have led certain enterprises to difficult situations.

I read recent telegrams sent by the IMF offering hundreds of millions of dollars to private enterprises and making loans given by international organizations contingent upon the privatization of public enterprises. They are proposing the worst form of neocolonialism and the state's surrendering of its enterprises. They do not advise governments to improve the administration of those enterprises. No. They simply recommend that they turn those enterprises over to private hands. In this crisis they are using the resources of all those financial institutions to preach and demand the privatization of those enterprises, which we feel is truly very serious.

Therefore, I believe that this congress has met at a very special moment for Latin America. I understand your positions, your spirit, and the energy with which you reported everything.

I believe that you drafted a program. The final declaration is excellent. I think it is great that your are sending it to the United Nations and other international organizations.

I think that all the conclusions that you reached make up a program full of moral force and ethics. I would say that it is a revolutionary program. [applause] It is revolutionary precisely because these are revolutionary ideas, under the conditions of our hemisphere or in any other circumstances. It is a revolutionary program which we can simply label as socialist, democratic, and Marxist-Leninist. I think that the issues raised are unquestionable. We will make that program ours. [applause] We will make that policy ours. [applause]

I am saying this without hesitation, and we express our gratitude for the knowledge and lessons you have given us.

I do not have to urge you to fight. You know that it is a need that is more pressing now than ever. You know that, now, more than ever, our divided and balkanized nations need to be united and to integrate economically. However, awareness is the most important factor in any process of unity and integration. Become the standard bearers of this awareness! Be like many illustrious predecessors! Be like those who wrote glorious pages in history! I am speaking about lawyers. I think that Marti was a lawyer. Agramonte was a lawyer. Cespedes was a lawyer. Our independence leaders were lawyers. Lincoln was a lawyer. [applause] Lenin was a lawyer. Marx was a lawyer. I think that Engels had a few little businesses. I think he was a businessman, [laughter] but he had principles.

I was jokingly saying that many revolutionaries in the history of mankind were lawyers, perhaps because they acquired an awareness and were able to acquire certain values and played an important role in history. If one lawyer was able to play an important role in any given historical period, what can thousands of layers achieve? What role can our Latin American Lawyers' Association play? United and aware that a program was drafted here, you are influential and you will become increasingly influential, to the extent that objective conditions help open minds and hearts to just ideas and correct principles.

I think that a lot can be done. You can do a lot. However, you deserve to hope to become the standard bearers of the professionals, not only of the lawyers, but of all the professionals.

I met at other times, not with Latin American lawyers, but with doctors. I have participated in great pediatrics congresses. I have met with teachers. I am not speaking of now but of 2 or 3 years ago. I can guarantee one thing:

I used to be surprised at the level of unanimity in views and awareness that they had regarding these issues and problems of the widest range of professional sectors. The doctors speak with pain because they are witnessing what happens every day, everywhere. The teachers speak with pain, also. If we all become united—doctors, teachers, professors, architects, engineers, and economists-...[changes thought] we have met with the economists; we have met with Latin American journalists; we have met with representatives of Latin American women, youths, students, and unions. I can assure you that an awareness is being created, and if this awareness is what precedes or is the prelude to major changes, I would say that the objective and subjective conditions are drawing us closer to the moment of big changes.

I think I have abused your patience too long. We should already be at the reception we invited you to. For this reason, I must end. I want to end by expressing our profound gratitude for this honor and for the lessons you have taught us.

Fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

Excuse me a minute, I had to tell you one thing that made a big impression on me. I was very impressed by the presence of the U.S. lawyers here. [applause] I was very impressed with the presence of approximately 20 U.S. lawyers. [applause] I have scored the empire and the system, but I will never be critical of the U.S. people, who are capable of fostering men like Brian Wilson, the man who stood in front of a military train to defend peace. He is the man who sacrificed his legs. He has remained firm and said that as soon as he recovers he will resume the struggle.

Recently I spoke about him. I consider him not only a U.S. but a Latin American and world hero. [applause]

For this reason, I say that that [the U.S. lawyers'] presence encourages us and that this struggle is not only of the Latin Americans. It is the struggle of the Latin American peoples united with the U.S. people who suffer, just like us, many of the calamities we mentioned here. Thank you. [applause]

Barbados

Sandiford Denies Currency Devaluation Rumor

FL221750 Bridgetown CANA in English 1926 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Sept 18, CANA—Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford said today that his government had no plans to devalue the Barbados dollar.

His statement came a day after rumours spread around Bridgetown that an exchange rate change was pending.

..."My government neither had nor has any plans for devaluing the Barbados dollar," Sandiford told a conference reviewing the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

The prime minister said that his administration was committed to a stable currency.

Dominica

Former Prime Minister Leaves Labor Party

FL221805 Bridgetown CANA in English 1406 GMT 17 Sep 87

[Text] Roseau, Dominica, Sept 17, CANA—Jailed ex-Prime Minister Patrick John has announced his resignation from the Dominica Labour Party (DLP) which took this Caribbean island into independence nine years ago.

In a letter made available to the press by his wife Desiree, John, who is currently serving a 12-year term for plotting to overthrow the Eugenia Charles administration, said his present situation exposed the DLP's covert and cunning exploitation of his adverse circumstances for selfish, personal and political purposes.

The DLP, in its organ, *The Labourite* recently called for the freeing of John, but the jailed ex-leaders wife had taken offence, alleging that the party was really seeking political mileage out of the situation.

The former Dominica prime minister, in his resignation letter, charged that a public mockery was being made of the Labour Party which he once led.

The letter, signed by John and addressed to DLP General Secretary Jerome Barzey, said that the party, under its present leadership, had failed to carry out the people's mandate as a mature, responsible and effective opposition.

His advice to what he calls the shadow Labour Party was that it should seek to arrest its present chronic malnutrition.

John said that as someone dedicated to serving people he could not be part of or associate myself with the present Labour Party—I hereby resign.

Haiti

Names of Electoral Office Members Announced

FL232240 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1300 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] [Announcer] Another note from the Provisional Electoral Council [CEP] advises that after visits by CEP members last week to recruit personnel for the Departmental Electoral Offices and the Communal Electoral Offices, the following candidates have been chosen for Departmental Offices:

For Department of Grand Anse: (Antoine Anel Eliacin), (Sila Joseph), (Eddy Gilbert), (Franklin Valentin), and (Mose Saint Louis);

For the Department of the South: (Jean-Claude Jean-Baptiste), (Mrs Velo Pinette), (Lande Henriquez), (Luders Erase), and (Dominique Dede);

For the Department of the Southeast: (Mrs Paul Francois), (Andre Pierre-Louis), (Wellington Fils Alexandre), (Moliere Ladouceur), and (Luke Francois);

For the Department of the North: (Raoul Remy), (Jacques Noresias), (Fulgens Barthelemy), (Pastor Odin Joseph), and (Yvon Paul);

For the Department of the Northeast: (Faustin Jean-Baptiste), (Gerard Charles), (Dorsaint Theard), (Rossini Blaise), and (Lucien Desamours);

For the Department of the Northwest: (Herard Louis), (Alexis Nerva), (Saintfil Jean Nicolas), (Fresnel Jean), and (Pastor Jean Theostene Escarmant);

For the Department of the Artibonite: (Pastor Djomene Petit), (Edouard Bedouet), (Emmanuel Honorat), (Amilcar Oxelus), and (Luciano Pharaon);

For the Department of the Center: (Gesner Brun), (Rick Garnier), (Herold Cardichon), (Delille Exile), and (Santal Thomas).

These are the citizens chosen by the CEP as members of the Departmental Electoral Office. They were chosen from various organizations and institutions, such as teachers associations, the Association of Haitian Journalists, the Catholic Church, protest sectors, and other democratic associations. They were installed yesterday, 22 September...

[Second announcer, interrupting] Rather, they will be installed.

[Announcer] They were installed yesterday, 22 September, by the CEP.

The Electoral Office for the Department of the West (?will be formed and installed) immediately after the first eight Electoral Offices.

A training seminar on the technical, legal, and administrative aspects of elections is planned for the members.

The above press release was issued by the office of the CEP press director.

Jamaica

Manley Seeks End to 'Political Tribalism'

FL221922 Bridgetown CANA in English 1922 GMT 21 Sep 87

[By Paget de Freitas]

[Excerpts] Kingston, Jamaica, Sept 21, CANA—Opposition political leader Michael Manley made an emotional call on Sunday night for an end to political tribalism in Jamaica.

Manley said that deep political division in the Jamaican society threatened the capacity to produce and to unite to fight crime, to protect the community and industry and to release energy for self-help.

In a speech to close his Peoples National Party's (PNP) annual conference, the former prime minister warned prospective election candidates that he would not entertain institutions such as community councils which the PNP intended to create when in power, as just another way to exert PNP power.

You may have it (power) now, but you may not have it tomorrow and when you have it today and dem (they) have it tomorrow, the day after it is still Jamaica that has to go forward, he said.

The PNP leader said that it took two to tango and that he realised that some people would not wish to join his party in its crusade.

But it was up to the PNP, which is leading the ruling Jamaica Labour Party in opinion polls, to take the initiative.

As I look at the history of our battered country today, I say we must ask for the dance, Manley declared.

Every decent Jamaican knows that the age of tribalism is at an end. [passage omitted]

Cocaine, Manley said, had bought a new viciousness to criminal activity since 1983, and many recent brutal killings were the result of gangs trying to set up drug collection and distribution and collection rings.

He said that Jamaica was very advanced in its war against marijuana, but was far behind in the drive against cocaine and that the PNP government would seek foreign assistance to help in the struggle against the drug.

He told PNP members that if there were any in the ranks hustling cocaine, turn the whole force of the party against them.

We are not having it in our ranks, he said.

Underlining the destruction that can be done by the drug and those who peddle it, Manley called for concerted and united action.

No one political party, no government alone can beat crime in Jamaica, he said.

Added the PNP leader:...If you are not prepared to mobilise against crime you will be its victim one day. If you can't unite they are going to over-run us.

Views CARICOM Cooperation

FL221928 Bridgetown CANA in English 1709 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Excerpt] Kingston, Jamaica, Sept 21, CANA—Opposition People's National Party (PNP) leader, Michael Manley, declared Sunday that deepened cooperation between Jamaica and its partners in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) would be central in his government's economic strategies should the PNP return to power here.

Manley, speaking at the closing of the PNP's 49th annual conference, in fact listed cooperation with Caribbean neighbours and particularly CARICOM, among 12 strategic priorities to be followed by a PNP government.

If it is the last thing I intend to do is to lead the Caribbean back to responsible economic cooperation and the mobilisation of the resources of the entire region, Manley declared to several thousand supporters packed into the national arena here.

Manley, whose government of the 1970's signed the treaty establishing CARICOM, has often accused his successor, Edward Seaga, of neglecting the community in expectation of big markets and heavy investments from the United States.

The charge has also come from others in the Caribbean, though recently the Seaga administration has been taking initiatives to help build back trade in the 13-member community that has declined sharply since 1981.

Manley stressed the need for the expansion of the CARICOM market to provide economies of scale in an effort for regional countries to be competitive outside the community.

In terms of specific plans, he promised to work for the establishment of a Caribbean stock exchange to allow for common ownership of resources in the region, which in itself would help in the rationalisation of industries.

A PNP government would also work for a limited CARICOM citizenship to ensure the automatic transfer of earnings through interest and shares and the right of private ownership of assets anywhere in CARICOM, the former prime minister said.

Another element of the strategy would be double taxation treaties and a common policy for the protection of CARICOM industries.

Manley said too that his government would promote the dynamic exploration of joint venture opportunities in both the public and private sectors.

The aim of this was to rationalise production, taking advantage of economies of scale and enhance the export capability of the region as a whole, he said. [passage omitted]

Trinidad

Opposition Leader Claims Election Comeback

FL221920 Bridgetown CANA in English 2008 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] Port of Spain, Trinidad, Sept 19, CANA — Opposition leader Patrick Manning says last Monday's local government election results showed a significant comeback for his party after its massive December 1986 general election defeat.

We in the Peoples National Movement view the election results as a great success for a party that was obliterated a mere nine months ago by the same electorate, Manning said in a Saturday Trinidad *Guardian* debate page dealing with the elections.

The PNM, which had lost general elections 33 seats to three last year, held on to the key Port of Spain city council and the southern borough of Point Fortin but lost the other two municipalities. It kept control of one of the seven county councils.

Political analysts said the PNM, vote—about 40 per cent of the popular vote on Monday—had shown a swing during the campaign back to the PNM which had seen all its ministers except Manning and one other former MP lose seats in general elections.

We believe that our success in this election must be measured in terms of 1986, because, after such a resounding defeat, it appeared unlikely that we could recapture as many as 45 seats in the local government elections, Manning said.

Ruling National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) General Secretary Dr. Bhoe Tewarie said in the same column that the estimated 40 per cent turnout indicated how politically motivated Trinidad and Tobago had become.

Local government polls traditionally attract a low voter turnout in the vicinity of 25 per cent of the voting population.

Not only is democracy alive in our country but the NAR has emerged very strong from this campaign and has received a mandate to proceed with the task of reconstruction, Tewarie said.

Costa Rica

Bank President on Foreign Currency Shortage

PA182351 San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 12 Sep 87 p 4

[Text] Although Costa Rican Central Bank President Eduardo Lizano acknowledged that there is a "shortage" of foreign currency, he labeled the problem as temporary.

Lizano declined to reveal the extent of the "shortage," but he said that $80 million is needed to allow funds earmarked to pay for imports to return to their normal level.

He noted that the first disbursement of $40 million that the country will receive from the Agency for International Development (AID) as a result of a recently signed assistance agreement, will ease the problem caused by the "shortage." The disbursement is expected to arrive next week.

"The foreign currency shortage problem will be resolved with the second AID disbursement expected in the second half of October," Lizano said.

Lizano had words of praise for business groups that have acted calmly about the problem because they know that the situation will return to normal soon.

He also said that increasing the deposits required prior to importing is a temporary measure to face the shortage of foreign currency.

El Salvador

Ungo Announces Unilateral Truce

PA231919 Paris AFP in Spanish 1905 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] San Salvador, 23 Sep (AFP)—The Salvadoran insurgents today announced a unilateral truce to facilitate the dialogue with the government of President Napoleon Duarte on 4 October in San Salvador.

At the same time, FDR President Guillermo Ungo demanded that the Salvadoran Army also declare a truce that will lead to an "agreed upon cease-fire."

Ungo said that they will announce the date when the truce will go into effect after "coordinating the proposal." He said that the FMLN will halt activities "before and during the dialogue."

Zamora Views Esquipulas, Elections

PA231452 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 1800 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Interview with FDR leader Ruben Zamora by correspondent Patricia Ramos in Managua; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Zamora] I think we have to view Esquipulas II as a highly positive development. I would say that for Central America this development entails four major aspects.

First, Esquipulas moves away from the policies the Reagan administration has tried to impose on Central America. Therefore, this is a Central American development. Second, Esquipulas, (?as opposed to) current U.S. policy, will allow the U.S. Democratic Party to have alternative policies on Central America and not be trapped by partisan politics. Third, Esquipulas has redefined Central America's political agenda. For example, if we participate in the elections next year a topic of discussion will be whether or not the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] is corrupt. Although I believe PDC corruption is a problem in El Salvador, it is not the main problem. After Esquipulas II, the main problem in El Salvador's political agenda is once again war and peace. That is the main problem. Fourth, Esquipulas opens up political maneuvering room. If that is what Esquipulas brings us, I think Esquipulas was a success. Moreover, Esquipulas will depend on what we, the Central Americans, do.

Therefore, we assess Esquipulas II positively, as offering maneuvering room and the possibility of advancing toward peace. Let us expand that maneuvering room. I think that is the most important thing about Esquipulas.

[Ramos] As for the dialogue with President Duarte, would you be prepared to reach an agreement to participate in the elections?

[Zamora] Of course: The FMLN-FDR concurs on that. We have said this in our various proposals. A process for a negotiated political solution in El Salvador must include free and general elections. We want elections contingent on the free participation of all political forces. Based on that, we will surely be prepared to participate.

Guatemala

Gramajo: 'No Impediment' for Communists

PA102208 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0033 GMT 10 Sep 87

[Text] Guatemala City, 9 Sep (DPA)—Guatemalan Defense Minister General Hector Alejandro Gramajo today said that there will not be any impediment for the operation of a communist party in Guatemala "because in this manner (the communists) would find out if the people reject them or support them."

Defense Minister Gramajo made the statement to the press today to answer a communique issued today by the URNG in which they again urge the government to initiate a dialogue with the guerrillas, according to the provisions of the peace document for Central America signed by the five presidents of the area on 7 August.

The URNG also asks that the civilian self-defense patrols (organized by the Army) be dissolved and that the people responsible for the thousands of Guatemalans that are missing or kidnapped be punished.

Meanwhile, Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo today said that a preliminary exchange between the guerrillas and the government might be accomplished

through the National Reconciliation Commission, established by the Central American peace agreement.

According to a communique issued today by the Presidency's public relations office, Minister Granajo said that "there is nothing wrong in allowing a communist party to operate." However, he pointed out that the subversive elements are currently having problems recruiting fighters because the Army is keeping this situation under control.

Nicaragua

Ramirez Rejects Amnesty for Ex-Somozists

PA231312 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez stated last night that imperialism has already lost the war in Nicaragua. He noted that peace possibilities have been possible because of the Nicaraguans' struggle and that if peace is achieved, it will not be easily won.

Ramirez added that it is absurd to consider peace without dignity and that President Daniel Ortega signed the Esquipulas II agreements because the government and the FSLN believed that they did not hinder the principles or the interests of the Sandinist popular revolution.

He added that the term simultaneous means that other countries also have to comply with commitments and that the United States and the contras also must comply with commitments regarding the cessation of aid and hostilities.

Last night, the vice president spoke to hundreds of Leon residents at the 31st anniversary of Anastasio Somoza's execution by Rigoberto Lopez Perez. He stated that it is absurd to believe that Nicaragua would disarm and that only those who are not in their right minds would think of requesting the surrender of the revolution. The latter comment was in reference to statements and communiques issued by political and religious organizations that ask for the revolution's capitulation. Ramirez stated that the FSLN will never lead the people down that road.

The vice president also noted that the time will come when Nicaragua can not be asked to continue complying with the Guatemalan agreements alone. He added that the contras will have to accept a unilateral cease-fire, which will be presented by the Sandinist government at an opportune moment and in compliance with the Esquipulas agreements. Let us listen to the Nicaraguan vice president:

[Begin recording] What do we mean by this? We mean that we are doing things in good faith and we are serious; but when the revolutionary government decrees a cease-fire the counterrevolutionary forces will have to observe it and will have to accept amnesty. These counterrevolutionary forces cannot continue to receive support, bases, and transportation from any Central American country. The U.S. Government cannot continue to give them financial, material, political, and military support. All this is specified in the agreements. We expect the others to honor them. We have started to comply without commitments, but at a set time the other parties, which also committed themselves, must start to comply; otherwise, the agreements will not be met. They cannot continue to demand that only Nicaragua comply, because here it is a matter that we all keep the commitments contained in the Guatemalan agreement. Whatever is not contained in the Guatemalan agreements cannot be demanded from the Nicaraguan Government. [end recording]

Last night, Vice President Ramirez became the firt top-level government official to state officially that the government would not grant amnesty to former Somozist guards.

Regarding *La Prensa's* return, Ramirez stated that the revolution is not tearing off an arm or a leg by allowing the newspaper to be published.

[Begin recording] If a global agreement is reached that brings peace to Nicaragua, we will reestablish freedom of press here: *La Prensa* is published; Radio Catolica is heard; anybody can open a radio station; the political parties are able to move. These concessions are not really contrary to the revolution's interests. The revolution is not tearing off an arm or a leg because it allows *La Prensa* to appear. Before the CIA blew up the Rio Negro bridge here in Chinandega—and we recall this for those that have bad memories—when the CIA's mercenary war against Nicaragua officially started, *La Prensa* circulated without prior censorship. At that time we did not have a state of emergency; the state of emergency was a defensive reaction against the agression promoted by the U.S. Government. If peace is possible, if *La Prensa* must reappear as a step toward the attainment of this peace, we must give it a try. We are obliged to give this step to try to reestablish overall peace in Nicaragua.

We must be clear about what is better and more important. Sandinists should not fear a political or ideological struggle. It is better to have a political or ideological struggle, no matter how hard it may be. It is better to defend the revolution through the newspapers, radio stations, and television stations than on the battlefields. Is this not evident? It is a thousand times better, because in defending the revolution on the battlefields—and we have been forced to do so—we have had to sacrifice thousands of heroic Nicaraguans; true sons of Sandino, Rigoberto, and Carlos Fonseca. [end recording]

Contras Ready To Discuss Cease-Fire

PA240034 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2322 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 23 Sep (ACAN-EFE)—The Nicaraguan Resistance announced here today that it is ready to begin a dialogue on the cease-fire in Nicaragua on 4 October.

The "contras" asked that Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, president of the Nicaraguan National Reconciliation Commission, begin to try to meet with the Nicaraguan Resistance negotiating commission.

At a press conference held in this capital, the anti-Sandinists asked Obando y Bravo to set the date "to take the necessary steps to create the necessary conditions for the dialogue on 4 October."

Contra Leader Rejects Proposed Cease-Fire

PA231923 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1552 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Miami, Florida, U.S., 23 Sep (EFE)—The Nicaraguan rebel forces will not respect the "cease-fire" declared unilaterally by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, a "contra" leader announced today.

Aristides Sanchez, one of the six members of the "contra" directorate, which is how the Nicaraguan rebels are described, categorically stated that "there is no cease-fire."

Sanchez added, "We consider this decision a simple publicity effort by President Ortega," who on Tuesday announced in Managua that the Nicaraguan Army intends to suspend "offensive operations" against the rebel forces.

Ortega indicated that the purpose of this decision is to encourage talks with the anti-Sandinist commanders to achieve a cease-fire throughout the country.

In an angry statement regarding the call to peace by the Nicaraguan head of government, Sanchez said that his rebel army will not observe the Sandinist truce, which is part of the peace plan signed on 7 August by Ortega and the presidents of the other four Central American nations.

The "contra" leader said this plan stipulates that the cease-fire must be negotiated between the two sides and that this cannot be done through a unilateral declaration.

Sanchez said that the rules of a cease-fire of this nature are entirely in favor of the side that declares the cease-fire. He added: "We must guarantee the physical and moral integrity of our troops."

Sanchez pointed out that Costa Rican President Oscar Arias had proposed that the archbishop of Managua, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, mediate between the two sides, and that the Nicaraguan resistance accept the prelate's mediation.

Upon announcing the cease-fire, Ortega said that he was planning to suspend the struggle in a few zones in Nicaragua, without indicating when this decision would go into effect or the areas that would be affected.

Another measure announced by Ortega was the reopening of Radio Catolica, the Catholic Church's station, which is directed by the archbishopric.

Sanchez described these measures as of little significance in the fulfillment of the stipulations of the peace agreement, which also establishes the freedom of expression of all the media forms.

"There are 90 different communication organizations, radio and television stations and magazines, that are still closed," Sanchez said.

The Esquipulas II agreement also calls for an amnesty, democratic reform, and an end to the insurgent movement and the use of the country's territory to invade other countries.

All of these measures should go into effect simultaneously in the five Central American countries 90 days after the date on which the Guatemala agreement was signed.

Panama

U.S. Troop 'Movement' in Capital Reported

PA240118 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 24 Sep 87

[Text] At noon today this television station broadcast a report that shook international public opinion. That report told about the movement of a large contingent of U.S. Army troops through Panama City. These troops, without the permission of Panamanian authorities and violating stipulations of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, traveled from various bases in the canal area to the U.S. Embassy on Balboa Avenue. This elicited a reaction from several local groups, who have demanded that the Panamanian Foreign Ministry issue a strong statement because this is yet another violation of clearly established regulations according to which U.S. troops can travel in the country only with local government escorts and after a hearing is held by the Joint Committee or the Joint Board, where both the U.S. Army and Panama Defense Forces are represented.

While local analysts said that this military reinforcement was due presumably to U.S. brass being afraid of CONATO's [National Council of Workers] march through Panama City, which could lead to more protests against U.S. intervention in Panama's domestic affairs, John Maisto, first secretary [title as heard] of the U.S. Embassy, denied our report and pointed out that the situation at the Embassy was normal and they have only met with 25 officers who are currently attending the Air War College. According to Maisto, students from this college visit the Embassy annually and are received during completely normal tours. Nobody, however, has explained why the officers carried firearms or why no reporters were allowed near the Embassy.

Authorized Foreign Ministry sources told this station that no regular troops, student officers or any armed military contingent can move from one place to another without prior coordination with Panamanian authorities. According to the Foreign Ministry, this action has

violated Article 15, Paragraph C of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, which clearly defines the proper procedure. Finally, it is worthwhile to mention that no demonstration occurred at the U.S. Embassy today by either CONATO or any other group and that as of the time this report was prepared the soldiers have not yet left the U.S. Embassy.

Archbishop Urges Government Initiative

PA231235 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 1730 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Msgr Marcos Gregorio McGrath, archbishop of Panama, today said that the government should take the first step to achieve a climate of national understanding; otherwise, the national crisis will get worse.

[Begin McGrath recording] We have to make a distinction. There are in-depth problems. There are problems that are socioeconomic, political, etc. We must understand them well. We must have a historic vision of Panama and its problems. Many times this is lost from view with the emotions of the moment, because curiously enough there might be general agreement on the solution of these problems, especially those dealing with socioeconomic matters. That is why I do not believe there is much disagreement in that area. The disagreement comes at the political level, so it is at the political level that solutions must be sought for the good of the entire nation.

There are two aspects to that political level: the problems that demand solution; and the procedures in the search for solutions. We bishops often criticize the nonjuridical procedures that violate some human rights or that do not respect the guarantees established by the Constitution. I have said that I believe that at this time the initiative is up to the government. We have said this, and it is stated in today's editorial in *La Estrella de Panama*, which states more or less the same thing.

Obstacles must be removed to seek solutions. These obstacles include the closing of newspapers and other media, the holding of political prisoners, and the warrants for the arrest of leaders of the Civic Crusade. The resolution of these things depends on the government allowing an environment for talks. At the same time, the government—in which there are obviously many forces and diverse views—must reach agreement on what it is seeking and offering as the feasible paths for solutions. It must find a way to present all of this—if not directly to politicians, to the public—so the public will be aware of this and there will be bases for understanding. The church's help in this process is often required. Sometimes we have helped or we have tried to respond to invitations that have been made half heartedly because there has not been sufficient political willingness or power to see them through to the end. However, I think it is up to the members of the government to reach agreement so they will take the initiative in solutions that can be presented to the public and to the political opposition and Civic Crusade forces. [end recording]

Delvalle on UNADE Proposal, U.S. Visit

PA231540 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 0330 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] President Eric Arturo Delvalle returned tonight to the country from the United States, where he was on a private visit. Upon his arrival at the Panamanian Air Force [FAP] airport, accompanied by his wife, the president was met by members of his cabinet and FAP chief Lieutenant Colonel Lorenzo Purcell.

The president told TV-2 [Televisora Nacional] that he brings with him a definite proposal for UNADE [National Democratic Union] parties regarding the political crisis the country is going through. Delvalle added that he will meet in the next few days with UNADE representatives to discuss this. The president accepted that his call for dialogue has failed; thus he has a proposal for UNADE.

The president disclosed that he met in New York City with Elliott Abrams, U.S. Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs; and with international banking representatives. Delvalle talked with Abrams on topics of mutual interest for both countries, and with international banking representatives about the Panamanian foreign debt.

President Delvalle was very kind and open at all times, and he told TV-2 that he under went routine medical exams. The president ended by saying: The doctors have determined that I am in good health.

Esquivel Meetings in U.S. Criticized

PA231234 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 20 Sep 87 p 4-b

["Political Coliseum" column by Baltazar Renan Aizpurua: "Vice President Esquivel: A Worm Grovels in Washington"]

[Text] Although Machiavelli said that the end justifies the means, it can also be said that the peoples know when to judge those who try to sell them out to the worst interests. This seems to have been forgotten by one of the country's charlatan politicians, who unfortunately was gratuitously and unwarrantably given the second vice presidency as a result of the electoral union of the ruling coalition.

Frustrated because his position as figurehead in the Liberal Party can no longer withstand the attacks from a split Liberalism that has never liked him, nor will ever like him, gynecologist Roderick Esquivel is desperately looking for the means that will serve as a cover for him to disguise himself with the robe of sedition because he knows very well that neither the traitorous oligarchs nor the useful fools wheedled by the imperialists can stand him.

Therefore, it is not strange that Panamanian Vice President Esquivel appears as a foreign policy ignoramus and outrageously goes to the United States to look for Elliott

Abrams, when everyone knows the role that Abrams is playing, along with other officials of the infamous Reagan regime, in the plans to destabilize Panama solely because the United States does not want to comply with the Torrijos-Carter Treaties and to have Panama totally recover its sovereignty at the end of this century.

Roderick Esquivel hypocritically denies some actions, but he tacitly admits that he has been taking steps that are not only inconsistent with his high office but also show him as a wormy politician who does not hesitate to grovel before gringo officials in order to satisfy their insane appetites.

If we accept the excuses Esquivel is giving, we can easily reach the conclusion that the steps he took in the United States were the result of his political shortsightedness—or, to put it another way, they were the result of his condition as a moron.

However, this simplistic conclusion is not correct, because Esquivel knows perfectly well that as vice president he cannot hold official or even semiofficial meetings with officials of other countries without the consent of the Panamanian president.

Esquivel has admitted that he was not given any type of authorization; therefore, the laments that he went to express to Elliott Abrams, to Poindexter's driver, and to Shultz' maid, confirm what we had previously said: The old politician from Chiriqui Province, who is better known as "big mouth," is a little traitor, a run-of-the-mill turncoat who has justly been repudiated by vast sectors of the people.

This is why we again publicly ask from this tribune of the people's struggle: LET HIM RESIGN!

TV Stations Respond to Ministry

RPC Television

PA232205 Panama City RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Dear friends: We will now read the text of a note we have received from the Government and Justice Ministry's Directorate of Social Communications Media:

Republic of Panama

Ministry of Government and Justice

National Directorate of Social Communications Media

Office of the Director

Panama, 22 September 1987

Jaime De la Guardia

General Manager

Channel 4

Mr Manager:

In view of the fact that in its recent newscasts this television channel has divulged news and interviews containing false statements against certain people, social security, and public order, which have promoted a climate of disinformation within the community, we urge this station to put an end to this attitude that is in opposition to our society's essential values.

As you know, Article 37 of our Constitution, to which the Government and Justice Ministry has referred on many occasions, states that there are legal ramifications for those who adopt such an attitude. In addition, Law 11, enacted on 10 August 1978, outlines the fines applicable in such cases.

Therefore, we once again urge you to prevent the television station you manage from making future broadcasts and interviews containing false statements.

Respectfully,

[Signed] Osvaldo Gudino Aguilar, acting director

There is a seal that reads: Republic of Panama, Ministry of Government and Justice, National Directorate of Social Communications Media.

A copy of the note was sent to the government minister.

Out of the respect we owe to the national public, we deem it necessary to clarify the following:

1. The unnumbered note sent to RPC Television late this afternoon by the Government and Justice Ministry does not specify to which interview or interviews it refers when it asserts that, quote, this television channel has divulged news and interviews containing false statements against certain people, social security, and public order, which have promoted a climate of disinformation within the community, unquote.

2. In a true and responsible manner, we broadcast several interviews during our three latest newscasts that are in no way linked to the charges described in the note sent to RPC Television by the Government and Justice Ministry. The people making such statements in interviews with our staff are Panamanians who have a high sense of responsibility. They publicized their views on the national situation in a serious manner. Their attitudes were also characterized by moderation and respect.

3. In view of this situation, we feel it is advisable to suspend broadcasting national news items until the Government and Justice Ministry delineates and clarifies the parameters that will govern the dissemination of information to the nation.

Telemetro Television

PA240026 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Yesterday, the Ministry of Government and Justice's National Directorate of Social Communications

Media sent a letter to this television station saying that news and interviews containing false statements had been aired by this station and that such statements harm people and the public order, thereby paving the way for a climate of misinformation. This station replied to this note today. This is the station's reply:

Mr Osvaldo Gudino Aguilar

Acting Director of the National Directorate of Social Communications Media:

We have received your letter dated 22 September. This is our reply in an attempt to clarify this situation and present our position. We are astonished by the charges against us mentioned in the letter and about allegedly improper and misleading information that we have aired in our newscasts. We were very surprised because since 26 June—when several news media were closed—we have limited coverage of local news to that which is permitted by the current circumstances.

We are fully aware of the provision stipulated in Article 37 of the Constitution and Law 11 of 10 February 1978, as well as Criminal Code law, which define and punish the spreading of false reports. This is why we disagree with the charges leveled at us. May we point out that at no time have we been told what specific false assertions, according to you, can create a climate of misinformation. For this reason, we hereby request that this be fully clarified. We have never learned of any local or international law that gives state authorities the power to punish alleged actions.

Despite the limitations imposed by your letter, this enterprise will continue to offer this public service in the hope that we will somehow contribute to peaceful understanding among our fellow citizens.

Your very truly,
[signed] Bolivar Marquez III

General Manager of Medios Panamenos, Telemetro Canal Trece

Prisoners' Relatives Say Rights Violated

PA231507 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0033 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Panama City, 21 Sep (ACAN-EFE)—Relatives of seven bodyguards of Colonel Roberto Diaz Herrera and relatives of a Peruvian have charged that their relatives' human rights are being violated. The bodyguards and the Peruvian were arrested after the assault on the home of the accuser of General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The charges were filed today by the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners in Coiba with the humanitarian organization "Americas Watch," which was invited by the Panamanian Human Rights Committee to investigate the human rights situation in the country.

The committee of relatives asked the U.S. organization to visit Diaz Herrera and the eight prisoners on Coiba, an island in the Pacific Ocean that has been turned into a prison where criminals convicted of serious crimes are held.

The committee of relatives has charged that the retired colonel has been the victim of all kinds of psychological torture, but admitted that close relatives are allowed to visit him and he is allowed phone calls from his wife Maigualida, who left for Venezuela with the couple's three children when Diaz Herrera was arrested.

From the beginning of June until he was arrested on 27 July, Diaz Herrera had been accusing Defense Forces Commander Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega of being involved in killings, corruption, and fraud. He later withdrew his charges and asked for clemency from the man he had been accusing, according to military sources.

According to the charge by the relatives, the eight prisoners were taken to Coiba without having had legal advice and without having gone through any legal process, in an unconstitutional situation.

The relatives have charged that the prisoners have been forced to do "very heavy forced labor under slave-like conditions," they do not receive sufficient food, they do not receive medical attention, and some of them have received death threats.

Four of the prisoners are former members of the Defense Forces, including Second Lieutenant Zoroel Diaz Herrera (a nephew of the colonel); three others belonged to a Panamanian battalion that fought Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza; and the eighth is Javier Begazo, a Peruvian who, according to the committee, is being "threatened" by Defense Forces personnel assigned to Coiba who claim that they "will demonstrate" that he belongs to the terrorist group "Shining Path," of Maoist inclinations.

Argentina

Contacts With UK on Falklands Dispute Reported

UK Submits Counterproposal

PY231455 Buenos Aires TELAM inSpanish1044 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Buenos Aires, 23 Sep (TELAM)—The United Kingdom has reportedly submitted a counterproposal on the Malvinas to the Argentine Government. This counterproposal seeks in principle to establish a direct dialogue forum between the two countries, although for the time being the only subject to be discussed will be ways to prevent incidents in the exclusion zone.

According to an extensive report published today by the newspaper *Clarin*, the British counterproposal was delivered to Argentina about one month before the recent elections and it was kept secret by the Foreign Ministry.

The direct precedent to the British counterproposal is a proposal that Argentina sent to London in June through U.S. officials, among whom was Robert Gelbard, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for Inter-American affairs.

According to *Clarin* columnist Oscar Raul Cardoso there are three main issues in this proposal: to avoid belligerent incidents in the zone; to initiate a process aimed at rebuilding reciprocal trust; and to reassert the existence of a sovereignty dispute, which the United Kingdom has refused to acknowledge since its military victory in 1982.

Senator on Possible Negotiations

PY231501 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 1340 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Buenos Aires, 23 Sep (DYN)—Senator Adolfo Gass, president of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, today admitted the possibility of "establishing a direct dialogue" this year with the United Kingdom on the Malvinas Islands issue. He also said that the United States and several other Latin American countries "are willing to mediate so that we can sit at a negotiation table."

Gass flatly denied that the government "is studying a British counterproposal."

In an interview with Radio Continental, Gass said "after attending a meeting of the UN committee for the Malvinas Islands, I found out that there are many countries interested in helping Argentina and the United Kingdom sit at the negotiating table."

"The appeals made by the countries who express solidarity with Argentina were aimed at making the United Kingdom decide to sit at the negotiating table," he explained.

When asked whether a direct dialogue between Argentina and the United Kingdom will be established, Senator Gass said that "there is a possibility" that it may happen before the end of the year. "I believe it is the only way in which we will be able to get out of this stalemate," he added.

Regarding Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo's visit to the United Nations, Gass said "I believe that after the meetings we will be able to find a solution that will enable us to overcome this difficult situation."

Gass did not confirm that Argentina is studying a British counterproposal to negotiate the Malvinas Islands issue. He said: "That subject has been being discussed for a long time, but I cannot confirm that report. However, I can assert that the Latin American countries and the United States are willing to mediate in the conflict between our two countries."

Caputo on 'Contacts' with UK

PY240149 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0030 GMT 24 Sep 87

[Text] Buenos Aires, 23 Sep (NA)—Foreign Minister Dante Caputo stated tonight that contacts initiated with the United Kingdom through the United States raise the possibility of "future negotiations restricted to matters of a humanitarian nature." These talks could avert a conflict in the South Atlantic, "if protected by a shield. This shield will not create a negative precedent for Argentina in its strategic objective of achieving sovereignty over the islands."

Caputo admitted that "there have been informal contacts," although he explained there has been no mediation by the U.S. State Department. He said the United States merely served as a "courier" between the British and Argentine Foreign Ministries.

He said the governments are looking for "some mechanism to prevent incidents." Caputo said whenever the possibility of a dilaogue has been raised, the Argentine Government has raised "a shield to protect sovereignty."

He added that these contacts "have nothing to do with mediation, nor are they leading toward negotiations."

Asked whether progress has been made in recovering confidence between the two countries, the foreign minister said his position was that of "extreme prudence," because "all these things are very fragile, very delicate, and only hint at the possibility that talks could be held some time in the future to try to find a way to protect ourselves against the creation of negative precedents for one country or the other."

In remarks made from New York to the Radio del Plata program, *Returning With Carlos Varela*, Caputo said, "the first Argentine objective is to recover our islands, and the second is to maintain peace. The problem is how to make these two positions compatible."

He said the major problem "is knowing whether there is a disposition to create some kind of mechanism that will at least prevent incidents from happening while we wait

for further progress on other matters." This mechanism will attempt to "preserve peace or create better conditions to preserve it."

"We have a little more than what we have had before-,and we are moving a little closer toward peace in the zone without making any concessions regarding strategic objectives," Caputo stated.

He said "if some level of confidence is achieved, without undermining the central objective, which is the recovery of the islands, it would be viewed as progress. Regardless of how insignificant, it is still progress."

The Argentine foreign minister stated that, in addition to the traditional positions most countries have maintained on the Malvinas issue since the 1982 conflict, "a third element is the main cause of the indirect contacts currently taking place."

He explained: "We could call it the effects of the tension in the zone that are undesirable for both of us."

He added that the purpose of these contacts is "to prevent further problems." He said "one country or the other, Argentina or the United Kingdom, see certain issues, such as the possibility of armed incidents in the South Atlantic, as negative."

Caputo said the problem here is "how can we do that without hurting Argentina's strategic objective, how can we do that without setting a negative precedent for Argentina if the negotiations do not mention the sovereignty issue. If the issue is not raised, it would mean that Argentina yielded on its position."

He added: "We think there are problems that go beyond the dispute, they are of a humanitarian nature: to revent armed incidents and death. But it is also clear that any progress made on this issue cannot be a negative element for the main Argentine claim which is sovereignty." Caputo labeled the contacts made so far as "informal communication through a third country" [words indistinct] to conciliate the viewpoints of each side. Referring to U.S. Government participation, Caputo said that it only acted as a courier.

Caputo was cautiously optimistic when he said that "the distance between nothing and a little negotiation [words indistinct] a great effort to find a path which under no circumstances could alter or become a negative element in the Argentine claim [words indistinct] the Argentine rights [words indistinct] to recover the islands."

He said that "the path to be followed is narrow, therefore, it is difficult to find the mechanism" no matter how minimual the results [words indistinct].

When asked why the British Foreign Ministry decided to initiate this type of flexible negotiations, Caputo said he has "some idea" but he declined to disclose it because [words indistinct] to them that I have some idea of what they are doing." [quotation marks as received]

He denied reports about some "uneasiness" among British forces stationed in the Malvinas because of the Argentine military presence in the conflict area. In this regard, he said that Argentina has been "very respectful" in maintaining peace in the South Atlantic.

He added: "Obviously, we have patrolled our own area. There is no doubt that we have made great efforts to control the region under our jurisdiction but [words indistinct]."

Asked about the enforcement [words indistinct] UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Caputo said, "sometimes things are not obtained by a single cause but by a group of [words indistinct].

He said that "our greatness has been to use all the mechanisms at our disposal from the situation we were in; that is, a country which lost a war and was economically weak."

Caputo pointed out that "the United Nations helped in the progress" but he explained he does not know how much the UN "influences" the British Government.

Regarding the meeting held today between the foreign ministers of Latin America of the so-called Rio Group with the EEC, Caputo said Argentina explained the "commitments" of the region. He said the other side said that "the real problem is trade and not so much the debt."

He added: "We said fine, but when we talk about the debt issue you are inflexible and then you do not favor free trade when we discuss that issue."

Asked about what his attitude would be in case of an eventual meeting at the UN General Assembly with his British counterpart, Geoffrey Howe, Caputo said: "We will see, we will see."

Negotiations To Begin in Oct

PY240344 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 0245 GMT 24 Sep 87

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 23 Sep (DYN)—Reliable sources reporting today on the unofficial rapprochement being made by the U.S. State Department announced that British and Argentine diplomats will meet at the end of October in New York to study the possibility of reaching an agreement that allows the two governments to renew direct negotiations on the Malvians Islands issue.

The sources reported that the October meeting will be followed by one in November, in Paris. If agreements for bilateral negotiations are reached in these meetings, the first meeting of Argentine and UK foreign ministers will be held before the end of the year, sources consulted by DYN reported.

Foreign Minister Dante Caputo has publicly admitted the possibility that, in the near future, Argentina and the United Kingdom may resume the negotiations that were

interrupted 5 years ago when the two nations fought a war over the possession of the Malvinas Islands. [passage omitted]

Sources consulted by DYN have reported that Argentine and British diplomats will meet late in October at the UN building to reconcile proposals that would lead to the establishment of official consultation mechanisms between the two governments through the United States. This would be a first step toward resuming direct negotiations between Buenos Aires and London and toward reaching agreements designed to prevent armed incidents in the southwestern region of the Atlantic.

The sources said if both governments approve the actions taken by their diplomats, another meeting will be held in Paris in mid-November, in which steps will reportedly be taken to draft an agreement for the cessation of hostilities.

In an interview broadcast tonight by Radio del Plata, Foreign Minister Caputo stated that the informal contacts between Argentina and the United Kingdom through a third country—which he did not indentify—are primarily designed "to prevent worse evils." [passage omitted]

The sources consulted by DYN have said that when he returns to Buenos Aires on 30 September, Caputo will already know the specific date for the first meeting between Argentine and British diplomats. This meeting will be simultaneously announced in Switzerland and Brazil—which represent the United Kingdom and Argentina, respectively—only a few of days before the meeting.

In this regard, sources have not ruled out the possibility that the Argentine diplomatic mission to this first meeting with its British counterpart may be led by Juan Eduardo Fleming, a Foreign Ministry official assigned to the Brazilian Embassy in London. The British delegation will then obviously be headed by a diplomat of Fleming's rank. [passage omitted]

The sources said that "no spectacular results" should be expected from the first two meetings, which would merely be preparatory sessions for a possible meeting at the vice ministerial level. The basis for a meeting between Caputo and his British counterpart, Geoffrey Howe, by mid-1988 could be laid at this meeting of vice ministers. [passage omitted]

Througout the report broadcast by Radio del Plata, Minister Caputo insisted that, during the rapprochement contacts being sponsored by the U.S. State Department, it has been necessary to "find ways not to alter the Argentine position, to prevent negative elements from being introduced or hindering Argentina's rights, and to prevent any weakening in the struggle our country has been engaged in for the recovery of the Malvinas Islands."

The difficulties Minister Caputo mentioned that could prevent Argentine and UK diplomats from opening negotiations were also commented on by Senator Adolfo Gass. In an interview to a Buenos Aires radio station, he said it was necessary to "find the password to help us out of our difficult situation."

The British proposal consists of beginning discussions on what the British diplomats call "practical matters," i.e., bilateral trade, or trade through third countries, resuming flights between Buenos Aires and London, and the possible resumption of consular relations. [passage omitted]

Bolivia

Finance Minister Cariaga Visits Washington

PY221356 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Finance Minister Juan Cariaga has gone to Washington to expedite the disbursement of an extended arrangement totaling $178.3 million. It was granted to Bolivia as part of a recent agreement with the IMF. During his visit to the United States, Cariaga will meet with IMF executives, the U.S. Federal Reserve president, and the U.S. Treasury Department under secretary. In their capacity as Bolivian representatives, Cariaga and the Bolivian planning minister will also attend the joint annual IMF and World Bank governors meeting, which begins on 27 September.

Socialist Party-One Faction Changes Name

PY230102 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Excerpt] The Socialist Party-One, Roger Cortez Faction, has changed its name by virtue of a ruling by the National Electoral Court. Thus, beginning today, this political organization will be known as Socialist Fatherland [Patria Socialista].

Deputy Roger Cortez, himself, released this report this afternoon in the Chamber of Deputies. He said that notwithstanding negotiations conducted in the electoral court, a group of socialists persisted in its stand to force the change in name and acronym of this faction.

Cortez stated that true socialists will continue their struggle in defense of the people's rights, and that Socialist Fatherland will participate in the municipal elections scheduled for December 1987. [passage omitted]

Minister on Coca Eradication Program

PY221919 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0202 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] La Paz, 21 Sep (EFE)—Information Minister Herman Antelo reported today that the Bolivian Government wants to eradicate 60,000 hectares of coca plantations. This will be done within the framework of a long-term plan to destroy the source from which drug traffickers obtain cocaine.

Antelo explained that out of the 70,000 hectares farmed in the tropical regions of La Paz and Cochabamba, only 10,000 hectares are legally used by peasants for traditional and industrial purposes in the manufacture of certain products.

He asserted that the remainder is illegally used by drug traffickers who are mainly based in Cochabamba, Beni, and Santa Cruz Departments, which are located east of La Paz.

On 19 September, Bolivian authorities and peasant leaders began the voluntary coca plantation eradication plan in the town of Coroico, 96 km east of La Paz, from where it will be gradually extended to other coca producing areas.

The government is granting an indemnity of $2,000 per hectare where coca is being eradicated. It has also offered to grant credits at low interest rates to promote development programs. The voluntary coca eradication plan aims to eradicate 200 hectares of coca by the end of September.

Brazil

Abreu Sodre Meets Israel's Shim'on Peres

PY231349 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Brazilian Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre met in New York yesterday with Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres to discuss the situation in the Middle East and bilateral relations.

Since Brazil has practically been elected a member of the UN Security Council, Sodre is making these contacts to study the situation in several parts of the world.

Abreu Sodre also spoke about the foreign debt and the Israeli experience in curbing inflation during his meeting with Peres.

In turn, Shim'on Peres said he intends to visit Brazil before the end of the year.

Businessmen Support Debt Renegotiation

PY241305 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 Sep 87 p A19

[Text] The Businessmen's Informal Forum [Forum Informal de Empresarios], which is a gathering of business representatives, yesterday sent to Finance Minister Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira a document expressing the sector's support for the Brazilian foreign debt renegotiation proposal that Central Bank president Fernando Milliet will submit to the private creditor bank advisory committee on 25 September in New York.

In their document, the businessmen uphold the Sarney administration's measures on the moratorium, and the reintegration of Brazil into the world economic order through a final solution "involving a multi-annual rescheduling of the principal, putting an end to the fruitless and exhausting annual rescheduling cicle." The businessmen also proposed a reduction of the net flow of remittances abroad.

New Agrarian Reform Minister Assumes Post

PY231354 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] Former Para governor Jader Barbalho yesterday assumed his post as Agrarian Reform Minister. He delivered a speech in which he said that he is willing to establish a dialogue with all the sectors involved in land reform in the country.

[Begin Barbalho recording, in progress]...because I understand that only with a shared effort will we be able to expedite the process of creating more farming settlements to benefit the rural workers. We will create favorable conditions, build infrastructure, grant technical assistance and rural credits to allow workers to make their land productive.

I also wish to assure you of my relentless desire to conduct permanent dialogue which I am sure will help to build the basis of a fair and democratic society for the Brazilian people. [end recording]

Jader Barbalho also referred to the people who assume radical positions. He said that they do not want an agrarian reform, merely to upset the program. He said he will not be carried away by hatred or passions.

Globo TV Network Encodes Signals

PY232207 Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 16 sep 87 p 33

[From the "Radar" page]

[Text] The Rio de Janeiro Globo Television network has decided to end piracy. All signs emitted by the station will be encoded so only affiliated stations will be able to receive and transmit the TV signals. Following the example of some U.S. television networks which protect themselves from international pirates in keeping with the nature of the programming, the Globo Television network is providing decoders to equip its own 5 stations and its 46 affiliates throughout the country. This mechanism will operate both relay stations and parabolic antennas that receive TV signals directly from satellite. From now on, those who want to receive signals will have to apply for a license and install a decoder. This will leave many small towns in the interior without television.

Chile

Defense Minister Carvajal Travels to ROK

PY231927 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Report from the Defense Ministry by (Mario Reynes)]

[Text] The Defense Ministry has released a communique, stating that Defense Minister Vice Admiral Patricio Carvajal has departed for the ROK to participate in the ceremonies scheduled to mark another anniversary of the ROK Armed Forces.

The following is the text of the communique:

National Defense Minister Vice Admiral Patricio Carvajal Prado has departed for the ROK in response to an invitation issued by the ROK Defense Ministry to participate in the ceremonies scheduled to mark another anniversary of the ROK Armed Forces.

Army Deputy Commander in Chief Lieutenant General Santiago Sinclair Oyaneder will be acting as defense minister during Minister Carvajal's absence.

This was the text of a communique released by the National Defense Ministry in connection with Vice Adm Patricio Carvajal's absence.

Mining Minister to Attend Zaire Copper Meeting

PY232213 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Excerpts] Mining Minister Samuel Lira will attend a meeting of copper exporting countries in Zaire.

The CIPEC [Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries] meeting is being held in Kinshasa, the Zairian capital, where the Chilean National Copper Corporation, Codelco Chile, and the Chilean Copper Commission are representing our country. The CIPEC mining ministers' sessions will start on 28 September. [passage omitted]

[Begin Lira recording] Other subjects, such as protectionism, will be discussed at the meeting in addition to matters related to investigation, promotion, and other topics.

We are concerned about the bills being debated in the U.S. Congress. We (?hope) that the joint action of the CIPEC country members can prevent these bills from being approved and implemented. [end recording]

We asked Minister Lira to explain a little more about the bills concerning the CIPEC:

[Begin recording] These U.S. bills attempt to create difficulties for, or even to prevent, the sale of copper, especially Chilean copper, to the United States. Senator Kennedy has presented these bills to Congress. [end recording]

Mining Minister Samuel Lira will return to Santiago on 2 October. During his absence, Deputy Minister Nelson Serrada Arellano will replace him.

Deputy Minister on Bolivia Sea Outlet Issue

PY221838 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister General Francisco Ramirez has confirmed Chile's willingness to cooperate with Bolivia and its unwillingness to surrender Chilean territory.

Ramirez made these comments in response to questions on the possibility of bartering Chilean territory in order to reach a solution to the Bolivian sea outlet issue.

Our country is willing to engage in any type of exchange with Bolivia including granting trade allowances, but we will never surrender territory. This is our position, Ramirez said.

Ramirez added that this is a bilateral problem and that it must not be reviewed or discussed in international organizations such as the United Nations.

Ramirez recently participated in a SELA meeting in Caracas. He reported that during the meeting the participants unanimously endorsed peace in Central America.

FACh Searches for Crashed Bolivian Helicopter

PY231404 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] The Chilean Air Force [FACh] Search and Rescue Service, headquartered at the 1st Air Force Brigade headquarters in Cerro Moreno, Antofagasta Province, a few hours ago sent a special rescue unit to locate three people who radioed for help. These people were aboard a helicopter, presumably Bolivian, which has reportedly crashed near Calama in the Chilean Andean foothills area.

According to their desperate radio calls, the helicopter developed a problem and they used batteries to operate the radio and ask for help. Nevertheless, after a few minutes the transmission faded and finally went off the air, presumably due to the discharge of the batteries.

The call for help was heard by a large number of ham radio operators and also by the Carabineros in Antofagasta and Calama.

Police sources have told us that this accident, which reportedly occurred yesterday at about 1900, has been reported to the SAR [expansion unknown].

Socialist Party Created; Leaders Identified

PY240106 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 23 Sep 87

[Text] The *Official Gazette* today published documents creating the Chilean Socialist Party, PS. The new party's slogan is: Socialism for all. The *Official Gazette* officially began the new party's creation process, and the collection of signatures to make its national or regional creation legal.

The documents indicate that the temporary central executive board is comprised of (Juan Carlos Moraga Fuke), president; Hugo Coloma Acuna, vice president; Ximena Orrego Monte, secretary; Miguel Pizarro Olivares, treasurer; Juan Farina Sorlazabal and Ricardo Fernandez Sanhuesa, directors.

The party's Supreme Council is presided by Gerald Schmidt Hesse, and made up of Victor Labarca Villarruel, vice president; and Felix Espinoza Leon, secretary.

Among its basic principles, the PS emphasizes that it preaches the socialization of the economy; i.e. the statization of the private sector which produces products of social influence.

It also says that the state will lose its power over the people, and will become the supreme coordinator of the social economic process.

It adds that the PS, therefore, rejects the totalitarian concept of state that exerts pressure on individual consciences, as a contradiction of socialist principles.

Interior Minister Calls for Isolation of PCCh

PY230203 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 13 Sep 87 pp C 1,7

[Excerpt] Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez yesterday called for the isolation of the Communist Party. He said Marxism is behind all terrorist actions in the country.

Fernandez made this statement after expressing his condolences to relatives of the two policemen killed night before last in an extremist attack in the southern part of the capital. The minister was accompanied by Minister Orlando Poblete, secretary general of government. Both ministers showed signs of grief. They categorically condemned these actions that "day-by-day take the lives of innocent people."

Fernandez urged all sectors having commitments to the Communist Party or to Marxist sectors, "which are directly linked to this attack," to "react and reconsider" the pacts and alliances they have within professional schools, universities, labor unions, and federations.

"Words alone are insufficient. Statements by these sectors are no longer enough. These pacts are unjustified. These terrorist actions, these violent actions that kill people go far beyond any type of negotiations," he stated.

"Therefore, we urge all sectors to act responsibly and not to limit themselves to mere words. If they really repudiate terrorism, they must isolate the Communist Party by not engaging in activities or forming pacts with it."

He added that in addition to calling on all citizens to help and to cooperate with the government in once and for all isolating Marxist sectors, "I also want to get the attention of all political sectors that are innocently making pacts with Marxist sectors, which contribute to the killing of innocent victims every day."

Fernandez added that all terrorism has the same origin in Chile: Marxism. He said: "The Communist Party of Chile is involved in all terrorist actions." [passage omitted]

PCCh Leader Yanez Defines Party Stance

PY231843 Santiago FORTIN MAPOCHO in Spanish 14 Sep 87 p 2

[Text] Communist Leader Alejandro Yanez told *Fortin Mapocho* that the hour of definition is getting near and that this is a tremendous challenge for opposition sectors which must define their position on the conflicts and demands that are appearing because they must follow a common path on the return to democracy.

Yanez believes that winds of change are blowing in the Chilean political scene. Yanez said that the turnabout started in August when the National Workers Command held a rally. He added that "there was an uprising at the University of Chile" when students, professors, and workers repudiated the newly appointed rector and are struggling to defend the university which is threatened by privatization. Moreover, judicial branch employees have created a labor conflict by demanding better salaries.

Yanez added that "because of the correct atmosphere that prevails in the midst of these numerous social conflicts, the campaign for holding of free elections may succeed." He said that if this struggle is closely linked to popular demands, it may acquire a new status and become a true mass movement able to defeat Pinochet's plans to perpetuate himself in power.

Yanez stated that what is presently at stake in Chile is a power struggle in which the alternative is "either Pinochet perpetuates his dictatorship by institutionalizing the 1980 Constitution, or the people rescue their sovereignty and democratically assume the leadership of the country."

Yanez also made reference to what Pinochet said in the southern region of the country when he said that there will be no elections and that the plebiscite will be a mere consultation. At that time, Pinochet also rejected the Chilean bishops' request to amend the Constitution to safeguard minimum guarantees without which there will be no free elections or plebiscite in Chile. Yanez said that this clearly shows that Pinochet will not subject himself to any kind of election verdict.

He stated that Pinochet takes for granted that he will be in power until 1997 and added that the plebiscite "will be a farce, an attempt to legalize something which he believes has already been decided." Yanez said that this is the real situation the country is presently confronting.

Yanez warned that "to dream of achieving negotiated solutions with the regime is senseless." He added that he believes that the opposition has only one alternative to achieve democracy: to organize and to unite, in order to be able to defeat Pinochet. He stated: "Anything else will mean subjecting ourselves and taking part in a farce, trying to seek subtle pretexts or win a consolation prize."

Yanez asserted that the Communist Party has denounced that the plebiscite is illegal, that it has decided to struggle to impede the holding of a fraudulent plebiscite and that it will do everything possible to defeat the dictatorship's plans.

Yanez stated that the communists are convinced that "it is possible to defeat the dictatorship's plans and that "it is possible to struggle for the holding of free presidential and congressional elections." He said that the key is to promote a decisive people's struggle, the unity of the opposition and a common path to restore democracy.

Regarding a statement by PDC [Christian Democratic Party] President Patricio Aylwin who said that the PDC rejects the plebiscite, that it believes that any government elected through the plebiscite is illegitimate, that

there is no democracy compatible with the 1980 Constitution, and that it supports the holding of free elections. Yanez said that this position is also upheld by the United Left, but that "the PDC leadership refuses to achieve an understanding with all political parties without the exclusion [of the Communist Party]. Yanez said that the PDC has taken two steps backwards: it has started procedings to register [in the voting list], and it has prohibited its leaders from achieving agreements with the Communist Party. Yanez believes that this attitude will make the spirit of Article 8 prevail in the opposition.

FPMR Causing Internal Differences in PCCh

PY231328 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 18 Sep 87 p C 2

[Text] The PCCh is facing increasing internal tensions as a consequence of the latest actions carried out by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR], actions that have been supported by sectors of the "hardliners," but have not received the consent or endorsement of the "historical" representatives of the PCCh.

This was reported yesterday to *El Mercurio* by leftist sources who have been following the PCCh's policy closely. These sources have stated that the level of political and organizational ties between the PCCh and the FPMR have dropped to the point that one sector of the armed movement has expressed its desire for "self-determination" in its actions and guidelines.

Moreover, both Cuba and the Soviet Union are imposing pressures to force native communists to find ways to break their political and social isolation, which have reportedly prompted Gorbachev to call top leaders of the PCCh to Moscow to demand changes in the strategic line to promote agreements with other opposition forces.

There is a strong debate within the PCCh Central Committee regarding the scope of the popular rebellion policy, designed and publicly launched in 1980, and aspects related to campaign for free elections and registration in the electoral books. The existing disagreements were leaked to the media following remarks made by former deputy Maria Maluenda, which later prompted her punishment, as well as a categorical warning to those who follow her lead.

According to some analysts, the PCCh's internal dispute reflects a confrontation between the so-called "historical" sectors, represented by labor sectors and many former lawmakers, and the intellectual sector, which has the support of the Communist Youth. The latter is the sector which has displayed a radical attitude over the past decade and which had supplied members to the militias and to the FPMR.

The abduction of Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Carreno Barrera by the FPMR has strained internal relations, because the abduction did not respond to any party political guideline. Instead, the action seemes to be a move by the sectors that want to break the political and structural ties with the party.

The internal tension has also affected the FPMR, where one sector wants to be free of PCCh tutelage, while another major sector does not want to relinquish its PCCh membership.

Some observers have pointed out that after the discovery of the arsenals and the assassination attempt on President Pinochet and his entourage, the PCCh issued a clear "call to order" to its members who had joined the FPMR. This action marked the beginning of an increasing deterioration of relations, which were, however, strengthened whenever the security forces dealt severe blows to the FPMR.

The PCCh recently refused to condemn the abduction of Carreno, because it does not want to cause a split. It has, however, asked for the release of the abducted officer. This is a direct message to the FPMR that they must end this operation.

Moreover, some reports have recently said that a couple of months ago the FPMR decided to move its headquarters from Havana to Algeria. This seems to reflect further internal difficulties within the PCCh.

University Professors Protest Government Policy

PY222313 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Excerpts] More than 100 professors gathered at Ahumada Promenade at noon today to meet with people and explain the real situation at the University of Chile.

(Inigo Diaz), secretary general of the University of Chile Professors Association, reported on this demonstration after attending an assembly at the Arts School. During the assembly, (Inigo Diaz) referred to the contents of an open letter, stating that the University of Chile is again being threatened and that the regime is attempting to subdue it by creating economic difficulties for the university and by taking over its administration. (Inigo Diaz) added that the University of Chile belongs to the country; it was created for the country and it belongs to everybody as a part of Chile's history and heritage. [passage omitted]

(Inigo Diaz) commented on the goals of today's demonstration in downtown Santiago:

[Begin (Inigo Diaz) recording] Between 150 and 200 professors, chosen by us to take part in the dialogue with the city of Santiago, attended today's demonstration. The idea was to have small groups of professors contact the people in Ahumada Promenade and other downtown streets to explain the real situation at the University of Chile, instead of the version being officially released by the University of Chile management. We believe the University of Chile has been unfairly treated and the people have the right and the duty to obtain information from the professors themselves. [end recording]

As we know, one of the measures adopted by rector Jose Luis Federeci was to fire 35 professors and to request that 4 other senior professors resign. Unofficial sources

have commented that the list of fired professors numbers more than 100.

MIR Editorial Endorses Carreno Kidnapping

PY230210 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 15 Sep 87 p c 2

[Text] The outlawed Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) has endorsed the kidnapping of Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Carreno Barrera by noting that this subversive action "has brought great encouragement to popular sectors."

The above statement is included in an editorial published by the clandestine newspaper *El Rebelde* in its September issue. The editorial justified the kidnapping of the high-ranking Army officer, who has been held hostage by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR] for 2 weeks.

The newspaper announces that in its next issue it will publish an interview with Father Rafael Maroto upon his return from abroad.

Responding to criticism of the "bourgeois opposition," the MIR states that "armed and militia actions are an essential part of popular struggles, regardless of what pessimistic, weak people might think. Much remains to be done in this area, in developing and in expanding every form of struggle, and in strengthening and extending the people's organization to promote their chances of obtaining independence."

The MIR also announced a general strike and its unrestricted support for "the 21-point platform" proposed by the National Workers Command, CNT. According to *El Rebelde*, the CNT has made labor demands including a 22-percent wage increase and a 22,000-peso basic salary.

The MIR also endorsed Carreno's kidnapping by the FPMR. The MIR criticized Carreno for being a member of FAMAE [Army Ordnance].

Waiters' Union Leader, Family Abducted

PY222007 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] A leader of the Waiters Confederation has reported that this morning the union's national chairman, Manuel Caro, his wife, daughter, and son-in-law were detained.

Antonio Gonzalez, who is responsible for the confederation's industrial relations, said unidentified civilians raided Caro's home at the corner of Principal and Juan Cristobal Streets, in Conchali District, and arrested the entire family.

[Begin Gonzalez recording] The Waiters Confederation national chairman was detained at 0700 today, as were his wife, a daughter—Vaneska Caro—and the daughter's husband. Their home was raided and they were arrested. The unidentified individuals took magazines, documents, and other objects. As a confederation, we are very concerned, and we consider this act an attack on our confederation because we are now holding our fourth national congress. For this reason we are very concerned.

The individuals, who did not identify themselves, raided the house without telling the family what they were looking for. The raiders even climbed on the roof. But we do not know what they were searching for. [end recording]

Antonio Gonzalez added that Manuel Caro, his wife Nidia Castro, his daughter Vaneska Caro, and her husband, Darwin Moraga, were taken by the unidentified individuals to an unknown place. Gonzalez concluded by saying that so far nothing has been reported on the missing family.

Talks to Media on Abduction

PY230302 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Text] The Investigative Police this morning detained Waiters Confederation President Manuel Caro for unknown reasons. Caro was detained along with his wife Nidia Castro, his daughter Valeska, and her husband Darwin Moraga.

Caro told Radio Chilena that some 15 detectives in 7 cars invaded his home in Conchali District this morning.

[Begin recording] [Caro] They took us to Conchali Investigative Police Precinct at the corner of Salvadores and Juan Cristobal Streets, very close to my home.

[Reporter] What reasons did they give for detaining you?

[Caro] The truth is that the reasons were very vague. The only concrete thing is that there was no real questioning. All they did was record basic data about me. Allegedly, my youngest daughter is involved in something I am unaware of. Because this is not the first time my family and I have been detained, I believe the police are attempting to frighten me and the labor union movement. It is really a regrettable situation but this occurred once before, in 1984, when my youngest daughter was abducted and questioned about my life and whereabouts. [end recording]

Caro said his daughter Sandra has been missing since yesterday afternoon, when she went out with some friends. No order and security organization has admitted detaining Sandra, who studies at the Jose Miguel Carrera High School.

The Waiters Confederation has released a note of solidarity with its highest leader, stating that his detention is aimed at intimidating the Chilean labor union movement.

Alleged Terrorist Killed by Own Bomb 12 Sep

PY230147 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 12 Sep 87 p c 9

[Excerpt] A terrorist was blown to pieces when a bomb he was trying to plant went off under the General

Velazquez railroad crossing in the Los Nogales slum district. According to the Alessandri Carabineros station, which launched a widespread operation, two accomplices of the dead terrorist were injured by the bomb, but they managed to escape.

The explosion, which occurred at 1300 during isolated antigovernment demonstrations, smashed one arm and the left leg of the terrorist. He was approximately 27 years old, was wearing blue trousers and a red and blue checkered shirt, and sneakers. It is believed his name is Alejandro Martinez Penaloza.

The three men were planting a "booby trap" that was meant for any policeman deployed to that area to disperse the antigovernment demonstrators, who were burning tires and erecting barricades on nearby streets. [passage omitted]

Police Find FPMR Weapons in Conchali District

PY222357 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 87

[Excerpts] A small arsenal of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) has been discovered after an incident yesterday afternoon at La Pincoya, Conchali District, where a 13-year-old boy fatally shot his older sister.

Antezca Zuloaga, Investigative Police Public Relations deputy chief, said the boy accidentally shot his sister when the submachine gun he was showing her went off. He had been hiding the gun in his home. [passage omitted]

Zuloaga said that when the police raided the house at 6097 Recoleta Avenue, they found an M-15 automatic rifle, a Smith Wesson revolver, a great quantity of ammunition, clips for submachineguns, and plans for terrorist attacks.

Zuloaga added that the boy, identified as Eugenio Ernest V.N., had been asked to hide the weapons by a militant of the FPMR named Leon. [passage omitted]

The incident, which is now being investigated by Santiago's 3d Military Court, took place at about 1300 yesterday, when the boy wanted to show his sister Patricia del Carmen Sereno Horabuena, 26, a submachinegun. The weapon went off, Patricia was shot in the chin, and she died 5 minutes later before she could be taken to a hospital. Shocked, the boy fled the house with the submachinegun, which he apparently threw into a canal in Cerro del Carmen District. The boy and a brother who fled with him were detained by Investigative Police officers a few minutes later.

After the arsenal was found, two other minors were detained along with Eugenio Ernesto's mother Luisa del Carmen Horabuena Diaz, who, according to members of the Investigative Police, had known for a long time about the arsenal hidden in the house.

Investigative Police reported that Eugenio Ernesto had been recruited by terrorist Cecilia del Carmen Valdez Toro, who used him to carry out support tasks for the FPMR. Cecilia has been in jail since 22 June 1987, when security forces killed three men in a clash in Parapena Street, San Miguel District.

Paraguay

Government Delivers Communique to U.S. Envoy

PY240051 Asuncion Primero de Marzo in Spanish 2306 GMT 23 Sep 87

["Text" of communique "delivered to U.S. Ambassador Clyde Taylor" by Paraguayan Foreign Ministry Under Secretariat in Asuncion on 23 September]

[Text] This communique is made public because cables received from Washington, which were published today, report that the U.S. State Department has adopted this same procedure, thereby breaking the tradition of discretion suitably used when brotherly and allied nations, whose governments share identical objectives, are efficiently cooperating in the field of human rights.

The inveterate habit of treating those nations the Western, Christian, modern, and democratic community has consecrated as equals, in virtue of the principles of international rights with imperialist and scolding arrogance again prevails in the communique the U.S. ambassador handed to the Paraguayan foreign minister on 17 September 1987.

The Paraguayan Government, which was made legitimate by the undeniable and overwhelming majority of the people, has been working for the constant improvement of the quality of life of the Paraguayan people. Among these improvements is the peace that reigns in the country. This peace is the fundamental basis of all other economic, social, and spiritual achievements. These achievements mark a fortunate and hopeful contrast with our nation's sorrowful history, and with the painful domestic wars and anarchy currently experienced by other Latin American countries where Communism has infiltrated. A clear example of one of those countries is Nicaragua, whose Sandinist-Leninist system of government is futilely compared to ours in the aforementioned communique.

Since the civil war ousted President Somoza, Nicaragua has been constantly at war. Death, terror, and the exodus of civilians have been permanently haunting the Nicaraguan people. A pro-Soviet regime is being implemented in the country, day-by-day, even against the Nicaraguan people's will.

President Stroessner, the Colorado Party, and the Paraguayan Armed Forces have undertaken the patriotic task of preserving peace and institutional security since the reformist movement of 4 May 1954.

The preservation of public peace and the stability of our institutions have been unprecedented achievements in Paraguay because anarchy, which destroys everything,

and political instability, which fatally undermines the country's economy, prevailed in the country from 1904 to 1954.

After the bloody 1947 revolution and its terrible and disastrous consequences, Paraguay, in 1954, found the path to peace and reconciliation. The successive governments of President Stroessner, supported by the Colorado Party, managed to reorganize the country's institutional life and to build what is today a model country in peaceful and participatory coexistence; a country that continues to move ahead on the task of improving its democratic institutions.

This is a country that is not willing to have its hard-won achievements suffer a setback as a result of the error of those unaware of how we built our current society, a society which is a cause of pride and satisfaction for a large majority of the Paraguayan people.

Proof of this assertion is the outcome of the periodic elections in which the people have shown their approval of the successive government.

There are people who have not followed Paraguayan development and are, therefore, unaware of the long path that required great prudence and moderation to overcome difficult circumstances before reaching this stage of advanced participatory democracy. It is understandable for these people to criticize temporary situations for minor, temporary reasons.

It in no way justifies, however, the attempt to discount the achievements of a government which, if judged in the proper perspective, has achieved nearly miraculous successes to any unbiased observer.

In Paraguay, we welcome all those resources that will help us promote our peace, our democratic coexistence, and our progress, to bring happiness to our people.

We convey our friendly greetings to those sister nations that share our desire to promote integration and development; we accept cooperation; and we seek a joint effort by all peoples of the Americas, without conditions and on an equal footing, so that we may continue to strive in freedom to promote freedom in the world.

We will thus continue to make an effort to improve democracy by ourselves, to promote the well-being and happiness of our people without risking the common good and without looking for useless, short-lived applauses, which could be deceptive if they come from our enemies.

The strange thing is the severity with which the communique we are now answering regarded actions taken by our government strictly in keeping with constitutional provisions. These provisions are well known and must be implemented to preserve order and respect for the rights of all citizens. In the meantime, the aforementioned communique regarded acts of provocation and clear attempts to subvert peaceful coexistence as signs of a good democracy.

The Paraguayan people can testify to the patience with which the government, and the Colorado Party and its press have asked opposition sectors to promote democracy within their organizations in order to participate in elections. This invitation was especially extended to the Febrerista Revolutionary Party [PRF]. The PRF is a legally recognized party that has freely organized meetings, conventions, and assemblies in which violent language has been used to instigate armed subversion.

Proof of this antidemocratic, biased, and revolutionary—in the worst sense of the word—spirit is the weekly *El Pueblo*. Because of the policy adopted by its directors, *El Pueblo* has become a subversive center from which disparaging, inhuman jokes focusing on physical defects of some government official were made. For these reasons and in an attempt to preserve a sound press and public order, the government decided to suspend it. This weekly was seeking to subvert all of our values.

The subversive plan organized by the irregular, obstructionist opposition does not end there. The PRF has always endorsed armed subversion and military coups because it would never win a free election, because it has a very small following. The PRF thus organized the civic assemblies as a way of developing pockets of subversion throughout the country.

Everyone knows that the government has asked irregular opposition sectors to organize their meetings freely and with police protection at the Plaza Italia and Plaza Carlos Antonio Lopez, just as it is done in the United States of America, in order not to disrupt public order and to protect the rights of pedestrians who have nothing to do with their subversive attempt.

The democratic life Paraguay is enjoying today is not the result of foreign pressure, but of a policy planned and encouraged by the government as its highest goal. Despite misunderstandings and difficutlies stemming from any human endeavor, no matter how generous it might be, the government will keep its commitments and will further its policy in the same direction.

Paraguayan history is full of heroic events, of unjust territorial losses, and of high prices paid with the blood and pain of its people in their struggle to exercise their sovereignty, which can be summarized in the right to self-determination.

The right to self-determination obviously entails the right to follow the path Paraguay may freely choose to achieve self-fulfillment as a nation. Paraguay has chosen the road to peace. For many years, Paraguay has promoted democracy through institutional channels, thus eradicating violence and terrorism as ways of political confrontation. As long as the Paraguayan people support this policy, the government will stay on this course without tolerating any manipulation, conditioning, or judgment of its legitimate decisions.

This is the only way the government will be able to prevent those attempting to interfere in its task of consolidating democracy from claiming credits they

could not have, or what is worse, from concealing failures and errors that could only damage, perhaps irreversibly, the Republic of Paraguay.

All this shows that the main responsibility for moving toward democracy rests more with the irregular opposition than with the government. Thus, the opposition must change its abstentionist, subversive position. This stance will not result in any patriotic achievement, unless its objective is to install a minority government in the country. Any honest observer can see for himself that the government and the National Republic Association, the Colorado Party, have the unconditional support of the majority of the people.

We reject each and all of the charges leveled against the national government by the aforementioned communique because of misinformation. The misinformation, of course, originated in Asuncion, from people living here, who should know and should make a comprehensive evaluation of the remarkable transformation that took place in Paraguay. This country has achieved undeniable development in every sector, especially in its democratic institutions. These institutions were developed in an atmosphere of peace and full participation by all political parties that accepted the free game of the legal provisions implementing the political rights included in the 1967 Constitution.

We insist in noting the responsibility of those in our country who have adopted intransigent, nearly fanatical positions. They can be held responsible for their own errors and for the errors they may cause others to make because of their lack of objectivity. They have refused to recognize the existence of the Colorado Party, and its immense popularity and strength. These are the same ones who refused to attend truly multitudinous rallies, like the one marking the 100th anniversary of the Colorado Party, because they do not want to see what is obvious; that is, the 180,000 Colorado members who peacefully and in an orderly fashion met to reaffirm their support for the leader of the Paraguayan nation, President Alfredo Stroessner. There were absolutely no incidents or damage to private or public property during this rally.

The rally set an example of civic culture and discipline, as it has always happened when genuine Colorado members get together without the participation of the small majority of agitators and subversives. These minority groups should in no way be supported or encouraged because they are only seeking to disrupt the peace prevailing in Paraguay in order to achieve, through illegal means, what they cannot achieve—because of their lack of popular support—through respect and obedience of the laws governing a state of law.

Repression has not increased; quite the contrary. In the face of an escalation of actions designed to create an atmosphere conducive to subversion, the government has adopted prudent, measured decisions designed to preserve public order. Fortunately, no irreparable accident has yet occurred.

Colorado Party Deputy Insults U.S. Ambassador

PY231310 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 23 Sep 87 p 8

[Text] Speaking during a ceremony at the Coronel Oviedo Colorado Party precinct last night, Deputy Miguel Angel Lopez Gimenez—who is a member of the party executive board elected by the Colorado Party Stroessnerist combatants— harshly criticized U.S. ambassador to Paraguay Clyde Taylor. The objective of the ceremony was to convey support to the Coronel Oviedo party precinct.

Speaking in Guarani, in part of his speech Lopez Gimenez said: "Dear fellow party members, I do not want to be rude but I have to say it. This ambassador is a stupid gringo that shames his people and his own government."

Lopez Gimenez had previously said that "at international forums, our country has been one of the most strongly committed allies of Western countries in the struggle for democracy and against Communism. That is why it is very surprising to us that a so-called representative of the U.S. Government should not behave in keeping with his high responsibilities, because the Paraguayan Government and people are friends of the U.S. Government and people. I sincerely believe that this ambassador is the worst enemy of the United States."

Post Office Director 'Warns' U.S. Ambassador

PY231448 Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish 23 Sep 87 p 10

[By reporter Elizardo Maldonado]

[Excerpts] Coronel Oviedo—Colorado party members from Asuncion and from throughout the country last night held a rally at the Colorado Party precinct in the city of Coronel Oviedo. The rally, which was held in support of the Coronel Oviedo Colorado Party precinct, was conducted by Dr J. Eugenio Jacquet [Justice and Labor Minister].

Luis Adalberto Soto Estigarribia, the president of the Coronel Oviedo Colorado Party precinct, opened the rally. Soto Estigarribia welcomed the participants and said that Coronel Oviedo has a 2,000-men Colorado Party Urban Republican guard organization that will defend at any cost the peace prevailing in the country, and President Stroessner's dignity. [passage omitted]

Afterward, Manuel Modesto Esquivel, [Post Office director], strongly lashed out at U.S. Ambassador to Paraguay Clyde Donald Taylor, stating: "We must speak out firmly and clearly from this Colorado rostrum. We must unmask the Paraguayan people's enemies. We are doing this now responsibly by stating that this notorious ambassador, or presumed U.S. ambassador, a man called Taylor, who attempts to disrupt order, peace, and tranquility, and who continues to believe that Paraguay is a banana republic, is one of the long branches of subversion which plot against our peace and against our democratic institutions. We are warning this diplomat that if he persists in his dastardly and subversive efforts to overthrow the government of President Stroessner, his days in our glorious Paraguay are numbered." [passage omitted]